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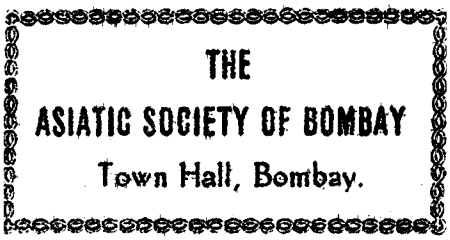

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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

B 221 30879

BY

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VOLUME III.—PART II.

(DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF AUGUSTUS.)

WITH 263 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, A MAP, AND 2 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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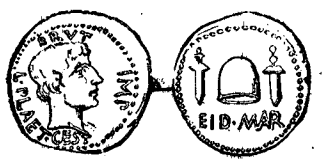
CHAPTER LIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (44-43).

I.—Funeral of Cæsar (March, 44).

"IN the moments of astonishment which follow an unexpected action it is easy to do anything one dares."[1] But the conspirators, says Cicero, "though men in heart, were children in head."[2] They had formed a plan for the conspiracy only, none to follow it up. Indeed, had they made any, the course of events would not have been altered thereby. Political crimes ruin the cause they claim to serve; Brutus and his friends had assassinated the Republic, or at least, what remained of it.



Coin of Brutus.[3]

When the work of deliverance was accomplished and the murderers wished to harangue the senate, the terror-struck senators had disappeared. They themselves, instead of uttering shouts of victory and liberty, remained gloomy, undecided, as if startled by the blow they had struck. They were all alone in the Curia with the victim, and they huddled together like criminals. None threatened them, yet they made ready to defend themselves; they rolled their togas round their left arms and clasped their daggers. At length they went forth; they crossed the Forum with a freedman's cap carried in front of them;[4] they displayed their

[1] Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, chap. xii.

[2] *Ad Att.*, xiv. 21.

[3] BRVT. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST.; uncovered head of Brutus. On the reverse, EID. MAR. (ides of March); cap between two daggers. Silver coin of Brutus.

[4] App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 118. A coin of Brutus bears these words; *Lib. P. R. restitu*, with a *pileus* or freedman's cap between two daggers. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 20 and 24.) On one of the coins of Cassius there is the same legend, and the Cæsarian Vibius Pansa put it upon his

blood-stained swords; they cried that the tyrant was dead, and the crowd remained silent. Rome's liberators, repelled by the people's indifference, were compelled to seek an asylum; they hastened to the Capitol, which Dec. Brutus had occupied with his gladiators. But upon the steps of the temple they could recognize the spot on which Tiberius Gracchus had fallen in a better cause beneath the hands of their forefathers. He too, had incited the people to liberty, and already the people had ceased to understand him. Would they now make any better response to the appeal of a few nobles who in the interests of a condemned caste had just committed a parricide? Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar's other friends, thinking the conspirators had considerable forces ready at hand, had taken flight and hidden themselves. This affright among the Cæsarians emboldened a few senators, and Cinna, Lentulus Spinther, and Favonius went up to the Capitol. In the evening Cicero came thither, complaining that he had not been invited to the joyful feast of the ides.[1] Cæsar's death had raised his illusions again; he began to have fresh hope, and displayed an activity and a decision with which he was no longer credited. He was anxious that the senate should at once be assembled in the Capitol; Brutus and Cassius being prætors could legally convoke it. He thought that by acting with energy and promptitude between the two trembling parties the senators would become masters of the situation.

Brutus hesitated; he wished once more to attempt to draw the people over, and on the following day (16th of March) he descended into the Forum. His speech, a grave and moderate one, was quietly listened to, but when the prætor Corn. Cinna, a relative of the dictator, spoke after him and attacked Cæsar, the crowd broke forth into cries and threats, and the conspirators, intimidated, hastily retired to the fortress which was defended by their gladiators and men of the people whom they had hired.

During this indecision Cæsar's friends were putting the time

[1] So at least he afterwards wrote to Trebonius: . . . . *quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus.* (*ad Fam.*, x. 28; xii. 4.) But he would have wished it to be more complete; *Quemquam* (Antonium) *prætercea oportuisse tangi.* (*ad Att.*, xv. 11; Cf. *de Off.*, ii. 8, 27; iii. 6 and 21.) By what a moderate man like Cicero dared to say we can judge of what the others could do, and would have done, had they not from the very first day encountered the resistance of the Cæsarians and the populace.

to good use; Lepidus, his master of the horse, had raised the veterans encamped in the island in the Tiber and had introduced them into the city; Antony had obtained from Calpurnia Cæsar's papers and hoard of money, 4,000 talents; he had also laid hands on the public treasure [in the temple of Ops], 700,000,000 sesterces,[1] which he carried off to his house. The common danger drew these two leaders together, and they united less to avenge their dead master than to take advantage of circumstances. Antony gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus, and promised the latter the high pontificate which Cæsar had held, together with the retention of his two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior.

The conspirators had amongst them a consul-elect, Dolabella, who proposed that thenceforth the ides of March should be celebrated as the second birthday of the Republic; some great personages went over to their side, and Decimus Brutus had command of a large body of troops in his government of Cisalpine Gaul, whence he could summon them. The Cæsarians had only the legion of Lepidus, with a few veterans, and there was no reliance to be placed on the multitude at Rome. This situation demanded prudence. Antony, who had hitherto been known only as a headstrong soldier, displayed superior ability; he outwitted everyone. In spite of Cicero the murderers had entered into negotiations with him. It was agreed that in virtue of his office of consul, he should assemble the senate on the following day, March 17. He convoked it, but far from the Capitol in the temple of Tellus, and he filled the Forum with soldiers. The murderers dared not come to the meeting; the people hastened thither crying to Antony to take good care of himself; he raised his toga and displayed a cuirass. The discussion was a stormy one. The senate wished to declare Cæsar a tyrant, and have his body cast into the Tiber. Antony represented that that would be to abolish his Acts; and as all the appointments had been made for five years, magistracies at Rome, governorships of provinces, and command of armies, too many persons, beginning with the murderers themselves, were interested in the maintenance of the

[1] Cic., *Philipp.*, iii. 37.

status quo.[1] Cicero, in order to satisfy everyone, demanded the sanction of acquired rights, the forgetting of the past, and an amnesty. The following senatus-consultum was adopted: No criminal action shall be brought concerning the death of Cæsar, and all acts of his administration are ratified *for the welfare of the Republic*.[2] The murderers had insisted that this last phrase should be added to the decree. The welfare of the Republic was the pass-word which served to justify the retention by the assassins of the benefits conferred by their victim. The citizens who had obtained from Cæsar allotments of land, claimed in their turn the confirmation of their rights, and a second senatus-consultum gave them satisfaction. What a strange spectacle! They had slain the tyrant, and everyone agreed in maintaining the acts of the tyranny "in the interests of the Republic." The amnesty was a natural consequence of this touching harmony; it was proclaimed, and no one thought of the results which had followed that of Cæsar. The next day the people were called together in the Forum; Cicero still spoke of peace and union. His voice, which had regained its power, seemed to take hold of all hearts. The people invited the conspirators to descend from the Capitol; Lepidus and Antony sent their children thither as hostages, and when the two leaders of the conspirators arrived in the Forum, applause broke forth. The two consuls embraced;[3] Cassius dined with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus; the enthusiasm was general, and honest Cicero was triumphant. But his political foresight was always equally short; he was dreaming an idyll amid raging wolves.

The matter was not, indeed, at an end, and beneath an exterior of official friendship every one retained his fierce passions. Since Cæsar was not a tyrant, since his acts had been maintained, his fortune could not be confiscated, his will remained valid, and

[1] One of the most eager for this course was Dolabella, who in spite of his being only twenty-six was consul-elect, and who would have had to wait fifteen years to regain that office had the proposal passed. Many had similar reasons. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 129.) I must say I have great doubts about the age usually attributed to Dolabella. The phrase used by Cælius to Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 13) respecting him in the year 50 B.C. could not be applied to a youth of twenty; he had been tribune at twenty-two, another difficulty, etc.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 135.

[3] Dolabella as consul-elect had taken Cæsar's place as the colleague of Antony.

he must have a public funeral. L. Piso, his father-in-law, read his last wishes to the people. He adopted as his son his grand nephew Octavius, and failing that youth, he left the best part of his inheritance to Decimus Brutus, one of the ringleaders of the conspiracy.[1] In case Calpurnia should have borne him a son, he appointed as his guardian several of his murderers; to others he left considerable legacies. These gifts from the victim to his assassins awoke the anger of the multitude; when Piso added that the dictator left to the people his palace and gardens beyond the Tiber,[2] and to every citizen 300 sesterces, there was an outburst of gratitude and threats.[3]

Another scene, carefully arranged, gave the whole city completely into Antony's hands. A funeral pile was erected in the Campus Martius. But the funeral panegyric was to be pronounced in the Forum. Thither the corpse was borne in rich apparel on an ivory couch, which was laid down close to the Rostra, and Antony took his place beside the dead. "It is not fitting," said he, "that so great a man should be praised by me alone. Listen to the voice of the country itself." And he slowly read the decrees of the senate according divine honours to Cæsar, declaring him holy, inviolable, father of his country. As he pronounced these last words he added, turning towards the funeral couch: "And behold here is the proof of their clemency! With him all had found refuge, and he himself could not escape; they assassinated him. Yet they had sworn to defend him; they had devoted to the gods whosoever should not shield him with his body!" Then stretching his hand

The Dioscuri.[4]

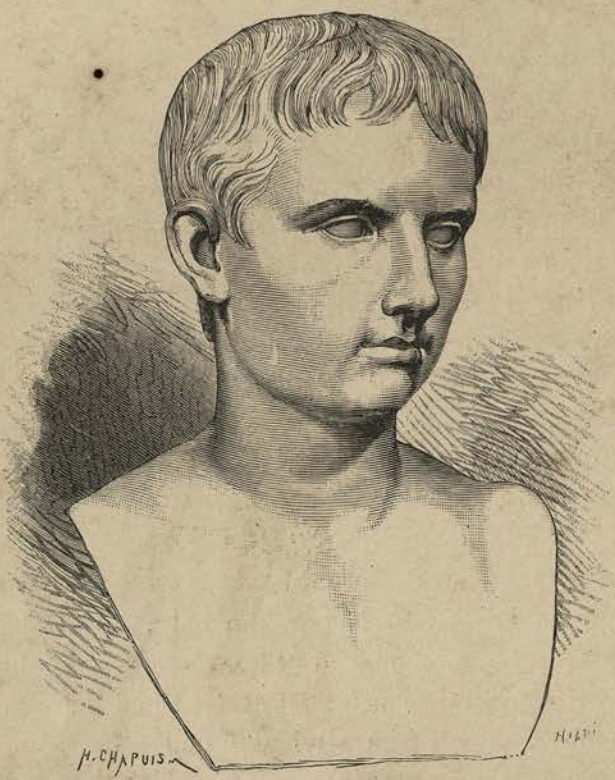
[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 143. See, in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, the admirable scene in the third act where Antony reads out the will.

[2] This villa of Cæsar's seems to have occupied the site of the Pamfili Palace. It was made into a museum.

[3] In this will, in which so many people had been named, there was no mention of either Cleopatra or Cæsarion, whom she passed off as the dictator's son and who very probably was so. This omission shows the falsity of the reports which had been spread touching the queen's influence with Cæsar and the projects foolishly attributed to the dictator of transporting the seat of empire to Alexandria. The great man has been credited with Antony's folly; with all due respect to romantic historians, these royal amours must be reduced to the proportions of a common liaison, without any influence on political matters.

[4] Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1788 in the Catalogue.

toward to the Capitol: "O thou Jupiter, guardian of this city, and all you, ye gods of heaven, I call you to witness; I am ready to keep my oath, I am ready to avenge him." Then he approached the body, began a hymn, as if in honour of a god, and then in a rapid and excited voice recalled his wars, his battles, his conquests: "O thou invincible hero, thou didst escape in so many battles only to come and fall in the midst of us!" and with these words he tore off the toga which covered the body, and showed the blood which stained it and the wounds wherewith it was pierced. Sobs broke forth from the multitude and mingled with his own; but this was not enough yet. The body of Cæsar stretched upon the couch was hidden from their eyes. Suddenly the corpse was seen to rise, with the twenty-three wounds on the breast and face;[2] and at the same time the funeral choir sang: "I have saved them, then, only to die by them."



Young Octavius.[1]

The people thought that Cæsar himself was rising from his funeral couch to demand vengeance of them. They hastened to the Curia where he had been struck down, and set fire to it;

[1] Head found at Ostia. (Vatican, *Chiaramonti Museum*, No. 416.)

[2] This was the waxen effigy, of which Polybius speaks, made to resemble the dead, and which represented him at the funeral ceremonies. Antony had it arranged in such a manner that it could be raised into an upright posture and made to face about to all parts of the Forum, that the gaping wounds might be seen.

they sought for the murderers, and, deceived by his name, tore to pieces a tribune whom they took for Cinna, the prætor. From the glowing ruins of the Curia they seized brands and hurled them against the houses of the conspirators; then they returned and took the body, and would have burnt it in the very temple of Jupiter. On being opposed by the priests they bore it back to the Forum to the spot where stood the palace of the kings. To make a funeral pile for it, they broke up the judgment seats and benches; the soldiers cast in their javelins, the veterans their crowns, their arms, their military gifts; the women their ornaments; and men thought they saw the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, themselves apply the first flaming torch to it. The people passed the whole night round the pyre. A comet which appeared in the heavens about that time seemed to justify the apotheosis. They cried that Cæsar was received among the gods, and to the multitude it was an article of faith.[2] In order to consecrate this popular belief and render it more lasting by a tangible image, Octavius raised a brazen statue to his

Cæsar deified.[1]

[1] Mattei Collection, pl. 75, and Clarac, pl. 910, No. 2318B.

[2] *In deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi.* (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 88.) The comet which appeared at that time was Halley's. (See, in Virgil, the magnificent description which ends the first book of the *Georgics*.) *Hac de causa*, says Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 88), *simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella.* The month of *Quintilis* took Cæsar's name *Julius* and still retains it as *July*.

adopted father in the temple of Venus, with a golden star on its head; coins represent the new god thus.

To this mourning among the populace answered from afar the lamentation of the nations. Cæsar, like Alexander, was bewailed by all whom he had conquered; the representatives of the provinces at Rome distinguished themselves by the liveliness of their grief. Each nation came in turn, says Suetonius, and made the Forum re-echo with its lamentations, and bewailed in its own way the protection it had lost; the Jews especially displayed unbounded regret;[1] for several nights they remained round the funeral pile. It has been asked whether there was not some secret community of ideas between the people from which religious unity was about to take its rise and the man who had desired to establish political unity? The Jews were only paying the debt they owed to him who, after having avenged them on the profaner of their temple, had allowed them to establish a synagogue at Rome, and to omit paying tribute during the Sabbatical year.[2]

Antony had succeeded; the murderers fled; but the senate was deeply irritated at this treatment of the amnesty which had been passed on the previous day. The consul, who was very anxious to keep up appearances of legality, at a time when every one was talking about the avenged constitution, had need of that body to obtain dominion over it. First he brought it back to his side by instigating the recall of Sextus Pompey and the abolition of the dictatorship; and still more surely by putting a stop to the popular movement which a certain Amatius wished to prolong for his own profit. This man, who said he was a relative of Marius and Cæsar, had erected on the very site of the funeral-pile an altar with this inscription: "To the father of his country," and every day sacrifices and libations were offered there; suits were settled before it as in the temples. Antony let his colleague Dolabella overthrow the altar and put to death the demagogue, with a few of his partisans.

He even consented to have an interview outside Rome with

[1] Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 84. We have seen (p. 327) the motives of Cæsar's friendship for the Jews. They were already numerous at Rome. (See the *pro Flacco*, where Cicero shows that they made common cause with the popular party.)

[2] Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 3, 5. They had had a colony in Rome since the year 139 B.C.

Brutus and Cassius, who had retired before the popular irritation to Lanuvium. He guaranteed them all safety, and as they dared not venture into the city, where in virtue of their office they should have resided, he caused them to be invested with the care of provisioning the city, to legalize their absence.[1] The other conspirators made arrangements to go and take possession of their governments; he let Decimus Brutus start for Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber for Bithynia, and Trebonius for Asia. Finally he did not oppose the restoration to Sextus Pompey of those of his estates which had not yet been sold, with an indemnity of 50,000,000 drachmæ for those which had, and the proconsulship of the seas.[2] Never had the senate found a more docile consul. Accordingly, when Antony, complaining of being pursued like a traitor by the hatred of the people, demanded a guard for his personal safety, the senate did not refuse to grant him one. He soon raised it to 6,000 men. This was an army sufficient to allow of his throwing off the mask.

The senate had confirmed Cæsar's acts. Antony extended this sanction to the projected acts of the dictator; and as he possessed all his books and had won over his secretary Faberius, he read in these documents, or caused to be written in them, all that it was to his interest to find there. Thus the Republic, the treasury, and the public offices were at his disposal, and Cæsar dead was more powerful than he had been when alive, for what he would not have dared to do, Antony did in his name;[3] he sold appointments, honours, and even provinces, as Lesser Armenia, which Dejotarus bought from him, and Crete, which paid ready money for its independence,[4] but only threw away the money. These scandalous bargains swelled his fortune; on the ides of

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 2. This writer says that Brutus and Cassius, in order to gain the veterans, had instigated the abolition of one of Cæsar's best laws, that which forbade soldiers to sell their allotment of land till they had held it twenty years.

[2] After Cæsar's death, Sextus, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees, had commenced war against the governor of Further Spain, Asinius Pollio, and had recovered the two provinces, where he had raised six legions. When he received the decree here mentioned granting him an indemnity, of which he received nothing, together with what was more profitable to him, a command of the sea, like that which Pompey had held (App., *ibid.*, iii. 4), he repaired to Marseilles, where he assembled some vessels. (Dion, xlv. 9; xlvi. 40; App., *ibid.*, iv. 84, 96.)

[3] *Ita ne vero? . . . . ut omnia facta, scripta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris, plus valerent quam si ipse viveret?* (Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 10; Cf. *Philipp.*, i. 7, 8.)

[4] *Philipp.*, ii. 37.

March he owed £350,000; before the kalends of April he had paid it all and capitalized nearly seven times the amount, which served him to bribe soldiers, senators, and his colleague Dolabella, thenceforth one of the most dangerous foes to his former party. To gain the Sicilians Antony gave them the citizenship; perhaps this was really one of the dictator's ideas. But he did not scruple to undo at need his most important laws. He established the third decuria of judges, composing it of centurions and manipulares of the Gallic legion Alauda. He abolished the arrangement about appeal to the people and the governorship of the consular provinces, the prolongation of which for six years he authorized, in order to secure for himself after his consulship a retreat whence he could long defy his enemies.[1] When by all these measures Antony thought he had made himself sufficiently strong, he half broke the truce made with the murderers by getting Brutus and Cassius despoiled of their rich governments of Syria and Macedonia, and giving them in exchange the two poorer ones of Crete and Cyrene;[2] Dolabella, his colleague, adjudged himself the first named, and he took the second, wherein were stationed considerable forces. "The tyrant is dead," sadly exclaimed Cicero,[3] "but the tyranny still lives!"

II.—Octavius and Antony (April, 44).

In the meanwhile there arrived at Rome a young man hitherto little noticed, Octavius, great nephew of Cæsar through his mother Atia, who was the daughter of one of the dictator's sisters. At four years old he had lost his father, a wealthy Roman knight of a plebeian family coming from Velletri. Cæsar, having no children of his own, had taken charge of him. At fifteen he received the laticlave, the sign of senatorial dignity; later on a pontificate, and after the African war military rewards, though he had taken no part in the expedition. An illness prevented his arriving in Spain in time to be present at the battle

[1] Cic., *Philipp.*, i. 8, 9; v. 3, 6; Ascon., ad Cicer. *in Pison.*, 39.

[2] There is some uncertainty as to the designation of the two provinces.

[3] *Ad Fam.*, xii. 1, and *Philipp.*, v. 4.

of Munda; but Cæsar wished to take him with him against the Parthians, and had sent him to Apollonia in the midst of the legions which were assembling there.[1] The squadrons of the army

Pallas of Velletri.[2]

of Macedonia came and manœuvred by turns beneath the young man's eye, and by his uncle's orders he took part in their

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 9; Dion, xlv. 2; Nicolaus Damascenus, 4; Vell. Paterc., ii. 59. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 9) even says that he gave him the title of Master of Horse for a year.

[2] Louvre Museum. This statue, the most beautiful of the antique Minervas which has come down to us, was found, in 1737, a mile from Velletri, amid the ruins of a Roman villa which perhaps belonged to Octavius.

exercises. This precaution saved the fortune of Octavius, for with that marvellous address of which he soon afterwards gave so many proofs, he attached the soldiers to himself, and when tidings came of the death of the dictator, the tribunes invited him to put himself under the protection of these devoted legions. His friends Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer.[1] This would have been tantamount to a declaration of war against

Gable Ornament in Marble found at Apollonia.[2]

the senate and murderers; and Octavius, a man of reserved mind, who inclined to prudence as much as Cæsar did to boldness, rejected the scheme, but daring in his own way, he resolved, notwithstanding the warnings of his kin, to go to Rome alone, and there lay claim to his dangerous heritage. He quite understood that he could only escape proscription by rendering himself formidable,

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 59. This Salvidienus was the son of a poor peasant, and had himself been a herdsman in his youth; he had raised himself step by step under Cæsar, and had taken his place among that general's highest officers. (App., *ibid.*, v. 66.) The Apollonians offered Octavius all their goods; he afterwards rewarded them by declaring their city free and exempt from taxation.

[2] Heuzey, *Mission*, etc., pl. 34, No. 1.

and that there was no alternative for his destiny but the fate or the fortune of Cæsar.

Being uncertain as to the disposition of the garrison of Brundisium, he landed at the little port of *Lupia*, where the scene at the funeral ceremonies had already been heard of, as well as the decrees of the senate confirming the dictator's acts. From that time he took the name of Cæsar, which was greeted with acclamations by the first soldiers whom he met. To him flocked the freedmen and friends of his adopted father, and the veterans from the colonies who came to offer him their swords, if he wished to avenge that father's death. But he, advancing no pretension but that of fulfilling the last wishes of the illustrious victim, travelled without any noise or ostentation. Near Cumæ he learnt that Cicero was in the neighbourhood; he went and paid him a visit, and won the old man's heart by his urbanity and pretended simplicity of heart.[2] At the end of April he entered Rome.[3] Antony was absent; he was scouring Italy to recruit friends, and especially to secure veterans.

The Young Octavius.[1]

Octavius was at that time scarcely nineteen; in vain did his friends renew their entreaties that he would lay aside the name of Cæsar; on the second day after his arrival he presented himself before the prætor and declared that he accepted the heritage and the adoption; then he ascended the platform and promised the assembled people that he would accomplish all the legacies of the succession.[5] Antony did not return till the end of May; Octavius demanded an interview with him, and it took place in Pompey's gardens. After protestations of gratitude and devotion,

Octavius in Mourning.[4]

[1] IMP. CÆSAR DIVI F. IIIVIR ITER; R(ei) P(ublicæ) C(onstituendæ) (Cæsar, *imperator*, son of the god Cæsar, for the second time triumvir, charged with the reconstitution of the Republic).

[2] Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 10 and 11 (19th of April, 44).

[3] In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, found forty years ago in the Escurial, the order of events is different. According to him Octavius, who had taken all the money sent to Greece for Cæsar's double expedition, arrived in Campania with large sums, visited the colonies founded by the dictator, harangued the soldiers and populace in the towns, distributed money, and induced two legions to follow him to Rome. This story is more probable.

[4] DIVI IVLI F.; head of Octavius bearded in sign of mourning. Coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

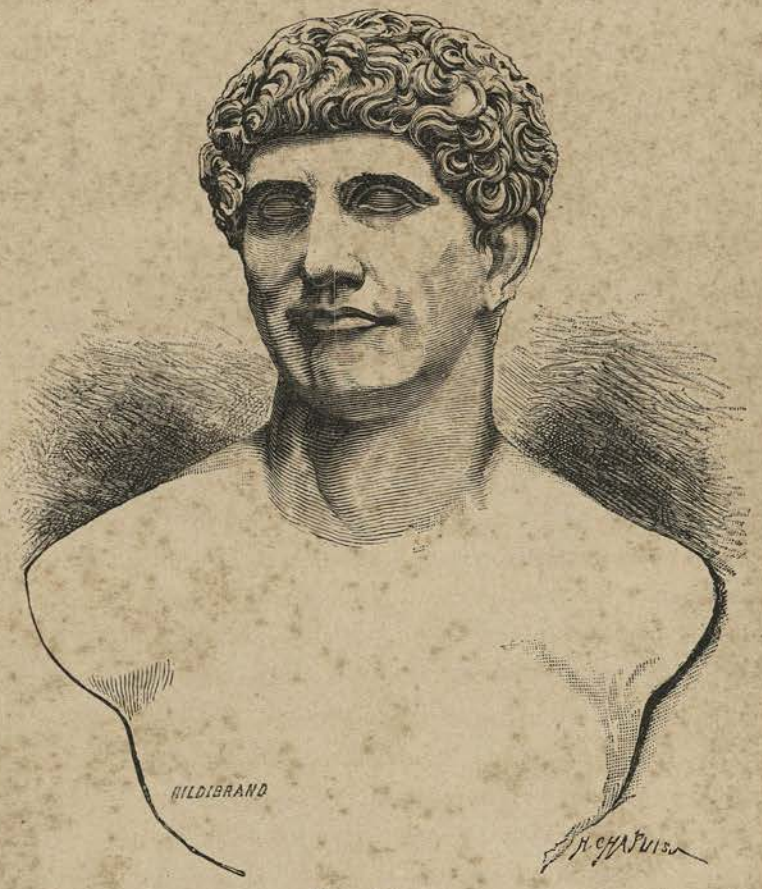
[5] Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 20; Dion, xlv. 6.

Octavius reproached him with the amnesty granted to the murderers, and his forgetfulness of the vengeance due to the *manes* of Cæsar. He ended by demanding the money left by the dictator, to enable him to pay what he owed to the people. Antony was quite determined not to restore anything, and thought he would easily be able to send the new comer back to school again. He answered that "as consul of the Roman people he had no account to render to a young man; that it must be known that but for his efforts Cæsar would have been declared a tyrant, and consequently the will would have been annulled; that as for the money, the little Cæsar had left had served to obtain the passing of the decrees which saved his memory; that for the rest Octavius was entering upon an evil road in wishing to flatter the people, a changeful multitude, less sure in its constancy than the waves. He ought to have learnt this much in the school which he had just quitted." [1]

Octavius departed deeply wounded at this bitter irony. For he lacked everything; his relatives and advisers urged him to remain in obscurity, and Antony was desirous of keeping him there. Another man might have yielded, but behind his trembling family and friends he had seen that the people and the soldiers applauded and encouraged him; and so with a boldness worthy of the bravest in the battlefield, he still persisted. His father's treasures were refused him, he sold the dictator's estates and villas, and as these domains did not suffice, he sold his own property also, and borrowed of his friends, beginning, according to Cæsar's example, by ruining himself, and, like him, pledging the present for future advantage. Antony, after laughing at the pretender, ended by keeping a serious watch over his movements. He placed an increasing number of obstacles in his way; he prevented the ratification by a curiate law of the adoption, he raked up against him endless suits with men laying claim to the inheritance or demanding the payment of debts. One day when the youthful Cæsar was haranguing the people, he caused him to be dragged from the platform by his lictors.[2] But this unfair kind of warfare, these acts of violence, served the cause of his adversary, whose popularity gathered all the credit that Antony lost.

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 20.
[2] Dion, xlv. 6, 7.

Antony perceived it however, and stopped. Indeed, he had need of the people for a fresh move. His province of Macedonia seemed to him to be too far from Rome, he therefore wished to obtain Cisalpine Gaul, then to summon thither the six legions of veterans whom Cæsar had destined for the war in the East, make them pass through Italy, and perhaps employ them against his



Marc Antony.[1]

enemies. For different reasons the young Cæsar approved of this plan; Decimus Brutus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; it was to the interest of Octavius not to leave one of the conspirators "in that fortress" which commands Italy and Rome. He had many friends in the army of Dalmatia; if it landed Antony might perhaps be less its master than he thought. The

[1] Bust in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, A 96.)

two leaders of the Cæsarians were thus for the moment drawn together; they became reconciled, and Octavius used his influence in obtaining the passing of the law, which was opposed by the senate and accepted by the tribes (June or July, 44 B.C.).[1] Octavius hoped Antony would return him service for service. The people wished to give him the tribunate, though his adoption into the family of the Julii rendered him incapable of holding that office; but Antony thwarted his demand by promulgating an edict threatening with the consular authority any man who should canvass contrary to the laws. Evidently Octavius was not of age. As the people threatened to go on, the consul broke up the meeting.

Notwithstanding this check the young Cæsar had in a few weeks made great progress; the people were for him, but force was no longer to be found in the Forum; he sought it where it existed; his emissaries passed secretly among his colonies of veterans, whilst others went to meet the legions who were coming from Macedonia. These tactics succeeded. One day Antony saw some military tribunes enter his house, who reminded him that there was but one interest common to all Cæsar's friends, vengeance for his death and the maintenance of his settlements, that his end would not be attained till they ceased to divide their forces, and that he ought therefore to effect a reconciliation as quickly as possible with the dictator's adopted son. These entreaties were equivalent to a command; the two leaders allowed themselves to be led by the tribunes to the Capitol, there to swear eternal friendship. A few days later the consul publicly upbraided the young Cæsar with having hired assassins against him, and Octavius returned the accusation. Octavius could never have thought of using these extreme means, for he had need of the ablest of his father's generals, and he only wished at first to compel him to share with him.

At Rome, however, a strong opposition was rising against Antony; and the malecontents were encouraged by the division

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 25–37; Dion, xlv. 9. Several senators had declared that they would rather restore the Gauls to independence than give up that province to Antony. Others had proposed to unite Cisalpine Gaul with Italy, which would have suppressed the government, proconsul, and army maintained there.

Gulf of Pozzuoli.

which had broken out in the Cæsarian camp, the progress of Sextus Pompey, who was assembling a fleet, and the news from the East that Trebonius had seized upon Asia Minor, and that the legions of Syria were calling for Cassius. Brutus had let his colleague start; and hesitating what line of conduct to pursue, had remained at anchor in the gulf of Puteoli, whence he had sent orders for celebrating with rare magnificence the games which he owed the people of Rome for his prætorship, without, however, daring to appear there in person. Cicero entreated him not to quit Italy, so that he might be in a position to profit by the misunderstanding between Antony and Octavius. But the threats of some and the weakness of others, the legions of Brundisium, the veterans of the colonies, the senate itself, which failed to support Piso when, in an energetic speech, he broke with the consul — everything, in fact, frightened him, and he departed. His fears infected Cicero, who embarked for Greece with the intention of there awaiting the end of Antony's consulship. He went as far as Syracuse; there indecision again overcame him, and the memory of his first flight from Italy stopped him. At sixty-three it was too late to begin camp life again; better remain on the battle-field, fight there, and if need be die; he returned to Rome (31st August).

Antony had convoked the senate for the 1st of September; Cicero avoided repairing to it, excusing himself on the ground of fatigue and the state of his health. The consul took his absence as a tacit reproof, and giving way to violent invectives, he went as far as to say that he would send soldiers to bring him by force or burn his house if he did not come. On the following day there was another sitting; Antony did not appear, but left the presidency of the assembly to his colleague Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero. The latter, emboldened by the circumstances, came and took his seat, and delivered the first of those harangues which in memory of Demosthenes he called *Philippics*. While still retaining some consideration for the man, he energetically attacked his acts. Antony was furious, and spent fifteen days outside Rome in composing his reply; and on the 19th of September he summoned the senate to hear it. Naturally in this bill of accusation Cicero was represented as guilty of a host of

crimes; of the illegal execution of Catiline's accomplices, of the murder of Clodius, of the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar, and of the assassination of the dictator. Antony would have liked to unite all parties against him by proving that each of them had a mistake or a crime to reproach him with; above all he desired to point him out to the veterans as the victim demanded by the manes of Cæsar.[1] Cicero would certainly have incurred some danger, for the consul had the approaches of the Curia guarded by soldiers.[2] But he dared not even remain in Rome; he retired to one of his villas near Naples, where he composed the second *Philippic*, a divine work, says Juvenal,[3] which was never delivered, and which he prudently refrained from publishing until after Antony's departure for Cisalpine Gaul.

During this war of words and these transports of eloquence, Octavius was, with far less noise, undermining the consul's power in a much more serious manner; he was enticing his soldiers away from him. Antony heard that the legions which had landed at Brundisium were being secretly worked upon by mysterious agents, and he set out in great haste (3rd of October) to stop the defection. The man who was already his rival also left the city, made a round among his father's colonists in Campania and Umbria, and brought back 10,000 men, promising each veteran who should follow him 2,000 sesterces. He also tried to win over Cicero, and through him the senate, in order to obtain from that assembly some title which might seem to confer legal authority on him. Every day he wrote to the aged *consularis*, urging him to return to Rome and put himself at the head of affairs, fight the common enemy, and once more save the Republic. He promised him his confidence and respect; he called him his father, and Cicero was persuaded.

At Brundisium Antony, forgetting that soldiers recognize no discipline when their leaders no longer recognize the laws, had severely reproved the legionaries for their affection for a *rash child*.[4]

[1] Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 13; *ad Fam.*, xii. 2.

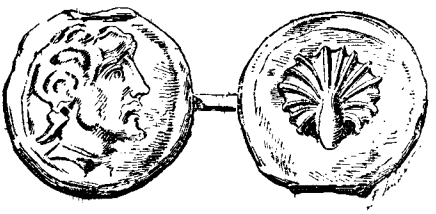
[2] *Philipp.*, v. 7; *ad Fam.*, xii. 25.

[3] *Divina Philippica* (x. 125). Cicero sent it to Atticus about the end of October, asking him whether he should publish it. (*ad Att.*, xv. 13.)

[4] Παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 43.)

They had not, said he, denounced the agents of discord who had introduced themselves into the camp. But he should know how to discover and punish them; as for themselves, he promised them a gratuity of 400 sesterces. These threats and his parsimony, two things to which the soldiers were no longer accustomed, were received with derisive laughter. He replied savagely by causing them to be decimated; some centurions were even slain in his own house, at the feet of his wife Fulvia, who was covered with their blood.[2] A few days later he again got rid of several suspected persons whom he had at first forgotten; then he sent his troops along the Adriatic towards Ariminum, whilst he himself, with a picked escort, repaired to Rome (October, 44). He immediately summoned the senate with the intention of accusing Octavius of high treason for having raised troops without an official commission. But he heard that two of the legions of Brundisium had just gone over to his rival, and the senate was hostile to him. He felt that at Rome he would be beaten; that like Sylla and Cæsar he must seek in the camp the means of re-entering the city as its master; and he set out for Ariminum. Decimus Brutus had not submitted to the plebiscitum depriving him of Cisalpine Gaul, and to legalize his refusal he appealed to the ratification by the senate of Cæsar's acts. Antony intended to drive him out of that province,[3] then he would enter into a closer alliance with Lepidus, the governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and with Plancus, who commanded three legions in Transalpine Gaul; being master in person or through his two friends of the provinces which his former general had held, he would recross the Rubicon and recommence

Coin of Brundisium.[1]



Coin of Ariminum.[4]

[1] BRVN; Arion on a dolphin, holding the lyre and cantharus; scalloped shell beneath. Coin of Brundisium. (See vol. i. p. 403, a coin on which Arion is holding a Victory.

[2] Such is the no doubt exaggerated account of Cicero (*Philipp.*, iii. 4, and xii. 6), who speaks of 300 executions. According to Appian there were only a few soldiers put to death.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 46.

[4] Head of man, uncovered, with a moustache and wearing the *torques*. On the reverse, a shell. Coin of Ariminum.

the story of the dictator, but with a different ending—without the clemency which had ruined Cæsar (November).

III.—Octavius, General of the Senate (January, 43).

Cicero returned to Rome almost immediately (December 9th). The situation appeared better; the chiefs of the two parties had abandoned the city; the murderers and the faction of the nobles were in the East; Antony and Lepidus, the representatives of the soldiery, in the two Gauls. It was allowable then to think that the "honest folk" who were left in possession of Rome and the government might with skill and energy get power into their hands again. Cicero put himself resolutely at their head, and dreamt of the return of the glorious times of his consulship. He perceived, however, that the sword and not eloquence would decide the victory; and the senate had no army.

But the young man who had just expelled Antony had one. Would it be difficult to win him over to the good cause? He was as yet only a name, a standard, which served as a rallying point for the veterans. Well, could they not possess themselves of this standard? Animated with pious zeal the young Octavius had no other ambition save to carry out his father's last wishes. When he had ruined himself by so doing he would relapse into obscurity. A few praises, a few honours would satisfy the vanity of a youth of twenty; his age would secure his docility. Octavius would thus furnish the senators with the army they lacked, and after the victory the instrument could be broken. Would it not be a curious sight and a legitimate expiation to make Cæsar's veterans serve to consolidate liberty? Such were the hopes with which the old *consularis* lulled himself, in spite of the warnings of those who pointed out to him that this youth had already displayed a prudence and boldness beyond his age. Only ten days after his return Cicero sang the praises of Octavius to the senate and people;[1] he congratulated the legions who had deserted the

[1] *Third and Fourth Philippics.* See on this subject the severe words of Brutus in epistles 16 and 17 of the book of letters of Brutus and Cicero. These letters to Brutus are probably

consul's standards and the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who was bravely resisting the unjust attack of the man whose title still made him lawful head of the Republic.

Antony was in fact already besieging Dec. Brutus in Mutina (Modena). Cicero, recommencing the useless campaign of Marcellus against Cæsar, wished to have the consul called upon to lay down his arms, leave his province, and await the decisions of the senate; and if he failed to comply, to have him declared a public enemy. He demanded levies too, the suspension of civil affairs, the assumption of the war dress, and the declaration of a *tumultus* (state of siege). But he also demanded for Lepidus, whom he hoped to detach from Antony by a puerile satisfaction of his vanity, a gilded equestrian statue to be erected in the Forum; for Octavius an exemption from the *leges Annales*, a seat in the senate, and the title of proprætor. In order that no objection might be raised to his youth, Cicero quoted the early commands held by the victors of Zama and Cynoscephalæ; he recalled to mind that Alexander had conquered Asia ten years before he reached the age requisite at Rome for canvassing the consulship; and he guaranteed the patriotism of the young Cæsar; he knew, said he, even his innermost thoughts; he pledged his word that Octavius would never cease to be what he then was, that is to say, such as they would always wish him to be. The senate, more timid than the rash old man, who on recovering his speech became so valiant, granted what was asked for the dictator's heir, adding thereto the erection of an equestrian statue,[2] a seat in the senate among the *consulares*, and the ratification of his promises to the soldiers; the public treasury was charged with the acquittal of his debt.[3]

Coin of Hirtius.[1]

Coin of Hirtius.

a compilation made in the time of Augustus or Tiberius. (Cf. P. Meyer, *Uber die Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cic. ad Brut.*, 1881.)

[1] C. CAESAR COS. TER.; veiled head of Julius Cæsar. On the reverse, A. HIRTIVS PR., with the *lituus*, *præfericulum*, and axe.

[2] Velleius Paterculus (ii. 61) remarks that hitherto only Sylla and Pompey had obtained an equestrian statue. For the like honour to be granted to a youth of nineteen there must have been many partisans of Cæsar in the senate.

[3] Cic., *Philipp.*, v. 17; App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 51; Dion, xlvi. 29.

The two new consuls, however, Hirtius and Pansa,[1] former friends of Cæsar, succeeded in getting one more attempt made to preserve peace. The deputies sent to Antony returned at the end of January with a reply that could not be accepted; he wished to have the consulship for Brutus and Cassius, in order to make peace with them; for his legionaries he required money and land; this was always, since Sylla's time, the first condition in a treaty of peace; for himself the command of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions, and the upholding of all his acts like those of Cæsar. Cicero could not yet, however, force on a declaration of war; the decree charging Octavius and the two consuls to raise the blockade of Modena only spoke of a tumult to be appeased.[2] Octavius had for this campaign received the title of proprætor together with the *imperium* and an authority equal to that of the two consuls in office. Another senatus-consultum forbade him to be called a boy.[3]

Antony had numerous friends[4] at Rome who succeeded in getting the despatch of a second embassy decided upon; and in order to rid themselves of Cicero, he had been appointed one of the deputies. He perceived the snare in time, and by his twelfth *Philippic* he obtained the reversal of a decision which would have allowed Antony time to take Modena by famine. The letters of Sextus Pompey, who was assembling an army at Marseilles and offered his services, and the news from the East, where Brutus and Cassius had taken possession of their governments of Syria and Macedonia, seconded his efforts and determined the senate.

In the course of March, 43, Hirtius and Octavius entered on the campaign, and were joined at the end of the month by

[1] Vibius Pansa was the son of a man proscribed by Sylla. (Dion, xlv. 17.) Even before restoring their rights to the children of the proscribed Cæsar had obtained the election of Pansa to the tribuneship in 51. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8, 6 and 7.)

[2] The word *tumultus* had two meanings; it signified a formidable war [especially a Gallic war], demanding the efforts of all the citizens, or a disturbance not worthy of the name of a war. Cicero took it in the former of these senses, the senate in the second; all the citizens however, donned the *sagum* of the soldiers. The citizens were taxed 5 per cent. on their property; the senators paid in addition to this four obols for each tile on their houses, as we used to pay for our windows. (Dion, xlvi. 31.)

[3] *Ne quis eum puerum diceret, ne majestas tanti imperii minueretur.* (Serv., *ad Eclog.*, i.)

[4] Dion (xlvi. 1–28) puts into the mouth of one of them named Calenus a violent speech against Cicero, reproducing the accusations and calumnies of his adversaries. The famous consulship of 63 is there very roughly handled.

Vibius Pansa with fresh levies. Antony tried to induce them to unite with him, reminding them that they too were Cæsarians; that the man he was besieging was one of the murderers, and that they would be the first victims of the party whose passions they served. The consul Hirtius sent on the letter to Cicero, who read it aloud to the senate with an eloquent commentary.[2]

Coin of Vibius Pansa.[1]

These last days of the orator are splendid; he now carried into public affairs the activity which after Pharsalia he had devoted to his literary labours, and which had rapidly developed so many masterpieces.[3] After fifteen years' silence on the rostra, he had now taken possession of it to restore its power and glory. An old man whom one would have thought broken down with years and varying fortune, became in himself the whole government. In the senate he restored confidence to the timid and courage to cowards; in the city, clad in war-dress in order to show everyone the imminence of the peril, he challenged voluntary gifts to supply the exhausted treasury, and excited the devotion of the poor, who laboured without wages to fill the empty arsenals. In the provinces his letters sustained the constancy of the besieged in Modena, restrained Plancus and Lepidus, confirmed the younger Pompey in his favourable disposition, and summoned Pollio from Spain, Brutus from Macedonia, and Cassius from Syria, to the aid of the senate. The last named of these wrote to him: "I am astonished at your surpassing yourself; the *consularis* is greater than the consul, and your toga has done more than our arms."[4]

But Lepidus did not vouchsafe any reply to his advances; he urged the senate to treat with Antony; and he drew Plancus and Pollio into his crafty or at least very unsenatorial policy;

[1] PANSA; mask of Pan. On the reverse, C. VIBIVS. C. F. C. N. IOVIS AXVR, Jupiter with rays round his head, holding a patera and a spear. This god was worshipped at Terracina (Anxur) under the form of youthful Jupiter with his divine partner Feronia, who was assimilated to Juno. (Serv., *ad Æn.*, vii. 799.)

[2] *Philippic* xiii.

[3] *Plura brevi tempore eversa, quam multis annis stante republica scripsimus.* (*de Off.*, iii. 1); the *de Partit. Orat.*, the *Brutus*, the *Paradoxa*, the *Orator*, the *Acad. Quæst.*, *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, the *Tusc. Quæst.*, the treatises *de Senec.*, *de Amic.*, *de Fato*, *de Gloria*, *de Off.*, and the *Topica*.)

[4] *Ad Fam.*, iii. 13.

the son of the proscribed of 78, and former master of horse under Cæsar, had interests which Cicero's rhetoric could not make him forget. As for the tyrannicides, they were far distant, and not at all in a state to intervene in the conflict which must be decided so near Rome. Already one of them, Trebonius, had paid the debt with his blood; Dolabella had surprised him in Smyrna and put him to death. Later on it was told how threatening portents

Valley of 'Homer's Grottoes,' near Smyrna.[1]

had announced the public misfortunes; the Mother of the Gods, whose statue in the Palatine looked towards the rising sun, suddenly turned her face towards the west, as though unwilling to see the places occupied by the murderers; that of Minerva at Mutina bled.[2] The gods became Cæsarian, so at least thought the multitude to whom these miracles were related, for prodigies always take place for those who are ready to believe in them.

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage dans l'Asie mineure*, pl. 6B.

[2] Dion, xlvi. 33.

A slight advantage gained by Antony's troops before the junction of the three generals spread uneasiness in the city. On the 15th of April, 43, Pansa arrived in the neighbourhood of Bologna, where his colleagues were, and on the following days the battle raged fiercely in three places at once. Already Pansa was mortally wounded, and his troops were retiring in disorder upon the *Forum Gallorum* (Castel-Franco), when Hirtius appearing at the head of twenty cohorts again turned the tide of victory. During this double action Octavius had defended the camp against Antony's brother. The latter asserted that the young Cæsar, terrified at the very first onset, had fled without his insignia, and that for two days he had not been seen again. Other narratives on the contrary spoke highly of his courage; he had seized, it was said, a standard which he long carried in the thickest of the fray.[2] The soldiers conferred the title of *imperator* on their three leaders.

The Mother of the Gods.[1]

The two armies re-entered their lines; it was necessary, however, to make haste in relieving the place unless they wished famine to open its gates. Antony pressed it closely; nothing

[1] Statue in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, i. pl. 39.)

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 67. That writer shows a strange partiality for Antony. (Cf. Dion, xlvi. 37; Suet., *Octav.*, 10; Cic., *Philipp.*, xiv.; *ad Fam.*, x. 11, 30, 33.)

could enter or leave it; nets spread in the Secchia and Panaro intercepted the communications which bold swimmers had at first established. "But," says Pliny, "Antony was not master of the air;" carrier-pigeons bore the messages of D. Brutus into the consul's camp.[1] Hirtius and Octavius, urged by him to throw aid into the town, attacked and broke through the enemy's lines

Medallion representing Numatius Plancus and the Genius of Lyons.[2]

(27th of April). Hirtius fell in this combat; his colleague Pansa died next day of the wounds he had received in the first action.[3]

Before the fight at Castel-Franco, a report had spread at Rome that one of the consuls had been beaten, and some of Antony's friends, in order to prepare for a movement against Cicero, said that on the 22nd of April the old *consularis* would get himself elected dictator. On that very day the news of the

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 53; Dion, xlvi. 36.

[2] M. de Witte, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, 1877. The word *Feliciter* is the consecrating word pronounced by Plancus that his offering may bring good fortune to the new colony. As for the name of *Lugdunum*, it has been derived from two Gallic words, *lug dun*, rock or hill of the raven. Thus the medallion shows a raven upon a rock. But Baron Raverat and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville dispute this etymology.

[3] The death of the two consuls was an event too favourable to Octavius for him not to have been accused of having caused it. He was said to have himself struck Hirtius in the mêlée and caused poison to be spread on Pansa's wounds. (Suet., *Octav.*, 11; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10.)

first battle arrived; Cicero forthwith obtained a vote of thanksgiving to the gods, of rewards to the troops, and a monument to consecrate the memory of those who had fallen in defending their country.[1] When the result of the second battle was heard the people flocked to his house and led him to the Capitol with great acclamations. It might have been thought that the real victor was the eloquent old man who had forced the senate to fight and win. "This day," he wrote to Brutus, "has repaid me for all my troubles."[2] The war indeed seemed at an end; Antony fled towards the Alps, throwing open the prisons on his way in order to recruit his army with all the miscreants therein.[3] But Decimus, now set free, was following him full of ardour; Plancus, restored to the senate, and having by its orders just founded the City of Lyons, swept down thence with an army to close Gaul against him, and Lepidus had renewed his protestations of fidelity. It was no longer thought worth while to maintain any caution, and ten senators, under the presidency of Cicero, were appointed to examine the acts of Antony; this was a first step towards the abolition of even Cæsar's acts.[4] The friends of the fugitive proconsul were troubled; his wife Fulvia was called to account for his ill-gotten wealth; the prudent Atticus hastened to tender his services to her.[5]

IV.—Formation of the Second Triumvirate; the Proscriptions; Death of Cicero (43 B.C.).

Amid this joy and festivity Octavius was almost forgotten. It was in the name of Decimus Brutus that fifty days of supplication[6] were decreed; the conduct of the war was even taken from Octavius and entrusted to the general whom he had just saved, although Brutus had only, as he himself said, shadows and phantoms rather than soldiers. The successes of Cassius in

[1] This was the fourteenth and last *Philippic*.

[2] *Ad Brut.*, 3.

[3] Cic., *ad Fam.*, xi. 10; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 78.

[4] Πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καισαρος διατεταγμενων. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 82.)

[5] Corn. Nepos, *Att.*, 9.

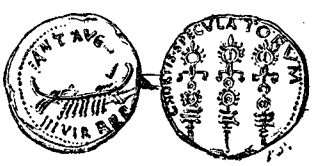
[6] Cic., *ad Fam.*, xi. 18; App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 74; Dion, xlvi. 39.

Asia, the progress of Brutus in Macedonia, and of Sextus Pompey on the sea, increased the general confidence still more; and then two legions were about to arrive from Africa; what need had they of that *boy?*

Marc Antony.[1]

Before the consul Pansa expired he had, it is said, summoned Octavius to his death-bed, and after speaking of his gratitude to Cæsar, and of the desire which he had kept in the depths of his heart to avenge him some day, he had added that the dictator's heir, hated as he was of the senate, had but one path of safety open to him, a reconciliation with Antony.[2] These warnings were not needed by the young aspirant. When Brutus came to thank him for the safety which he owed him; "It was not for you," he replied, "that I took up arms; the murder of my father was an execrable crime; I only fought to humble the pride and ambition of Antony." From that day Decimus wrote to Cicero to mistrust this zealous son. Octavius, indeed, satisfied with having shown the world that he must be taken account of, was unwilling to crush Cæsar's old lieutenant altogether; he allowed Ventidius to lead to him across the Apennines two legions raised in lower Italy. And Antony being tamely pursued, reached unhindered the town of Frejus, where he put an end to the indecision of Lepidus by enticing away his troops (29th of May). A zealous republican and friend of that general, named Juventus Laterensis, had hitherto dissuaded him from this alliance; when he saw the two leaders embrace one another, he stabbed himself with his sword. Decimus Brutus was too weak to hold his own with his raw levies against this imposing force, which was still further augmented a short time afterwards by the defection of Asinius Pollio, the

Coin of Antony's First Legion.[3]



Legionary Coin of Antony.[4]

Legionary Coin of Antony.[5]

[1] Head of Marc Antony, from a coin.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 78.

[3] LEG. PRI; eagle between two standards. Silver coin.

[4] ANT(onius) AVG(ur) IIIVIR R(ei) P(ublicæ) C(onstituendæ), and a galley. On the reverse, CHORTIS SPECVLATORVM; three military standards surmounted by crowns.

[5] CHORTIVM PRAETORIARVM; eagle between two standards.

governor of Spain, and of Plancus, governor of long-haired Gaul; and Antony found himself again at the head of twenty-three legions.

Then it became absolutely necessary to remember Octavius. To detain him until the arrival of Cassius and Brutus, whose return was urged on by a decree of the senate, Cicero wished to load him, to *overwhelm* him with honours.[1] He got an ovation decreed him; this was a means to separate him from his legions,

Roman Ruins at Frejus—The Amphitheatre.

for it was usual for the general to disband his troops after the triumph. An attempt was also made to work upon his soldiers; lands and money were offered them, and especially leave to retire, and it was attempted to sow discord in their ranks by giving to some and refusing others. And finally when Octavius left his camp for a few days, deputies from the senate appeared therein. The soldiers refused to listen to them, but themselves sent to Rome a deputation of 400 veterans who declared in the Curia that their chief, being exempted by a senatus-consultum

[1] *Cæsarem Laudandum et tollendum.* The last word has two meanings, of which one is sinister. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 62; Suet., *Octav.*, 12.)

from the *lex Annalis*, desired to come and canvass the consulship. The permission to do so was refused; "If you do not grant it," said one of them, tapping his sword, "this will obtain it for him,"[1] and they returned to Octavius, who forthwith crossed the Rubicon with eight legions.

The senate tried to stop him by a humble embassy, which granted him everything, even to a largesse of 2,500 drachmæ for the soldiers, a reward for their insolent bravado. As these humiliating concessions proved ineffectual, they assumed the grand courage of former days; they put on the garb of war; all the citizens were armed, and some earth was disturbed on the Janiculum in order to raise fortifications there. The prætor Cornutus, a zealous republican, displayed great warlike ardour; he reckoned on the two legions which had just landed from Africa; but as soon as the young Cæsar appeared they went over to him. The same day he entered the city amid the plaudits of the populace, and the senators hastened to pay their court to him. Cicero arrived late: "What," said Octavius ironically, "You appear last among my friends." He fled on the following night, whilst Cornutus slew himself.

A popular assembly proclaimed Octavius consul, giving him the colleague whom he himself selected, his relative Pedius (22nd of September, 43), together with the right of choosing the præfect of the city; and he had not yet completed his twentieth year.[2] He at once obtained the ratification of his adoption, the repeal of the proscription pronounced against Dolabella, and the distribution among his troops,[3] at the expense of the public treasury, of the promised rewards. Pedius on his side proposed an enquiry into the murder of Cæsar; in order to reach Sextus Pompey he included in the accusation the murderers and their accomplices, even those who had been absent from Rome at the time when the deed was committed. The trial commenced immediately; Decimus Brutus was accused by Cornificius, Cassius by Agrippa, etc.

[1] This is the same speech already attributed to one of Cæsar's centurions, and is perhaps no more authentic than the other.

[2] *Consulatum iniit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 65.)

[3] 2,500 drachmæ to each soldier. "Hence the custom of giving the like sum to the soldiers of every legion which enters Rome in arms after having proclaimed an *imperator*." (Dion, xl. 46.)

They were condemned to banishment and the loss of their property.[1] Of all the senators only one had dared to defend them; a few months later he paid for his boldness with his life.[2]

Now Octavius could treat with Antony without fearing to be eclipsed by him. He was consul, he had an army, he was master of Rome, and round him had gathered all those among the Cæsarians whom Antony's violence or unsteadiness had driven from him. His interest enforced this alliance upon him, for alone he could not have contended against the twenty legions which Brutus and Cassius had already assembled in the East. Pedius made the first advances; he caused the repeal of the sentence of outlawry pronounced against Lepidus and Antony.[3] It was this news which had decided the defection of Plancus. Decimus, abandoned by him and shortly afterwards by all his soldiers, tried to reach Macedonia in disguise; being recognized and seized near Aquillia by a Gallic chief, he solicited an interview with his former companion in arms. Antony replied by ordering the head of the fugitive to be sent to him; then he announced to Octavius that he had just sacrificed this victim to the manes of Cæsar; he was the second who fell.[4] After this exchange of courtesies, Lepidus had little trouble in arranging a settlement which secret emissaries had doubtless been preparing since the battle of Modena.

At the end of October the three leaders met near Bologna, in an island of the Reno,[5] the banks of which were lined on each side by five legions. The strictest precautions were taken, as afterwards in the middle ages, against treachery. They passed three days in drawing up the plan of the second triumvirate and arranging the division of the Roman world among them. Octavius was to resign the consulship and to be replaced in that office for the remainder of the year by Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant. A

Ventidius.[6]

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 95; Dion, xlvi. 45.

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, cxx.; Dion, xlvi. 48; Vell. Paterc., ii. 69.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 96.

[4] Trebonius had been the first. A third tyrannicide, Basilus, was about this time slain by his slaves, whom he treated cruelly. (App., *ibid.*, 98.) A fourth, Aquila, had perished before Modena (Mutina.)

[5] Probably at Crocetta del Trebbo, two miles west of Bologna, where an islet 500 yards long is to be seen. (Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88.)

[6] P. VENTIDI PONT. IMP.; soldier standing. Reverse of a silver coin of Marc Antony.

new magistracy was created, under the name of *triumviri rei publicæ constituendæ*. Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius[1] assumed to themselves the consular power for five years, with the right of disposing of all offices for the same period; their decrees were to have the force of law, without needing the confirmation of either the senate or the people; and finally, they reserved for themselves two provinces each near Italy; Lepidus took Narbonensis and Hither Spain, Antony the two Gauls, Octavius Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. The East being occupied by Brutus and Cassius remained undivided, as did Italy; but Octavius and Antony were to go and fight the murderers, whilst Lepidus remained at Rome and watched over the interests of the association. The triumvirs had forty-three legions; in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they pledged themselves to give them 5,000 drachmæ apiece after the war, with the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy, among others Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Capua, Ariminum and Vibona.[3] When these conditions had been drawn up in writing, and each had sworn to observe them, Octavius read aloud to the troops the conditions of the treaty; and in order to cement the alliance they required him to marry one of Fulvia's daughters.[5] The army in fact had succeeded to the sovereignty of the people; it deliberated, approved or rejected; the camp replaced the Forum, to the great danger of discipline and order, not to say of liberty. Of late, since *the great stroke of the ides*, the word, if not the thing itself, had often reappeared. But the last of Rome's citizens, the man who had just made a free voice heard, was already proscribed.

Antony Triumvir.[2]

Lepidus Triumvir[4]

By that inexorable fatality which we have so often pointed out, the senatorial party was about to suffer by the law it had made for its opponents. The proscriptions and confiscations of

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 2; Dion, xlvi. 55.

[2] M. ANTONIVS. III. VIR. R.P.C.; head of Antony; behind it the augur's *lituus*. Gold coin.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 3; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10.

[4] M. LEPIDVS III. VIR. R.P.C.; head of Lepidus; behind it, a simpulum and sprinkler. Gold coin.

[5] Clodia, born of a former marriage of Fulvia with the turbulent Clodius.

Sylla were to begin again; but it was now the nobility who were to pay with their lives and fortunes for the crime of the ides of March and for the torrents of blood with which forty years before the oligarchy had flooded Rome and Italy.

In later times it was related that many prodigies had announced the triumvirs' fury. One of these may well be called true; some vultures, it was said, came and alighted on the temple consecrated to the genius of the Roman people; there were indeed birds of prey gathering together, greedy for carnage.

Before reaching Rome the triumvirs sent an order in advance to the consul Pedius to put to death seventeen of the most considerable men in the State; Cicero was among the number. Then they arrived one after another. Octavius entered first; on the following day Antony appeared; Lepidus came only third. They were each surrounded by a legion and their prætorian cohort. The inhabitants beheld with affright these silent soldiers, who went in succession and took up their position at every point whence the town could be commanded. Rome seemed like a city conquered and given over to the sword. One more day passed in cruel anxiety; a few men assembled in the Forum by a tribune, passed a plebiscitum confirming the usurpation by legalizing the triumvirate (November 27th).[1] At last in the night the following edict was posted at all the cross-ways: "Lepidus, Marcus Antonius and Octavius chosen triumvirs for the reconstitution of the Republic thus declare:[2] Had not the perfidy of the wicked answered benefits by hatred; had not those whom Cæsar in his clemency spared, enriched, and loaded with honours after their defeat, become his murderers, we too should forget those who have declared us public enemies. Enlightened by the experience of Cæsar, we will forestall our enemies before they take us by surprise. . . . . Some of them have already been punished; with the help of the gods we will reach the rest. Being ready to undertake an expedition against the parricides beyond the seas, it has seemed to us and will appear to you necessary that we should leave no enemies behind us. There must be no hesitation, they must be swept away with one blow from among us. Yet we will be more merciful

[1] *C. I. L.*, vol. i. 466; *Fasti colotiani.*

[2] Οὕτω λέγουσιν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 8.)

than another *imperator*, who also restored the ruined Republic, and whom you hailed with the name of Felix. Not all the wealthy, not all who have held office will perish, but only the reprobate. That is why we have preferred to draw up a list of proscribed persons rather than to order an execution in which the soldiers, blinded by rage, might have struck down some of the innocent. This then is our order: let no one hide any of those whose names follow: whosoever shall aid in the escape of a proscribed man shall be himself proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. As a reward a man of free condition shall receive 25,000 Attic drachmæ, a slave 10,000, together with freedom and the name of citizen. The names of the executioners and informers shall be kept secret."

Genius of the Roman People.[1]

Then followed the list of 130 names; a second containing 150 appeared almost immediately afterwards, and this was succeeded by others. Senators received the honour of a separate list; their names were not, as in Sylla's time, mixed up with those of common *proscripti*, and it is not certain that some did not hold to this distinction even in death.[2]

Before day-break guards had been placed at the gates and in all places which might serve for escape. To deprive the condemned of all hope of pardon, at the head of the first list stood the names of Lepidus' brother, of L. Cæsar, Antony's uncle,[3] of

[1] Statue in the National Museum at Naples. It comes from the Farnese Collection.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 4.

[3] This Lepidus and L. Cæsar, cousin of the dictator, had been the first to vote for the senatus-consultum which declared the brother of one and the nephew of the other public enemies. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 12.)

a brother of Plancus, of Pollio's father-in-law, and of C. Toranius, one of the guardians of Octavius. Each of the triumvirs had given up one of his relatives to win the right of indulging his vengeance without stint. They kept their accounts with scrupulous exactness; such and such a head claimed by one appeared to the others to be worth two or three; they bargained, they agreed, and the three heads were given to balance the account. As in the fatal days of Marius and Sylla, the rostra had its hideous trophies; thither the heads must be carried to receive the blood-money. Hatred, envy, greed, every evil passion broke loose, and it was easy to get a name inserted in the fatal list or to hide the corpse of a murdered enemy amid those of the proscribed. The virile robe was given to children in order to release their property from tutelage before the time, and then they were condemned. A head was brought to Antony: "I do not know it," replied he, "let it be taken to my wife." It was that of a wealthy private individual who had refused to sell one of his villas to Fulvia. One woman, in order to marry a friend of Antony, got her husband proscribed and gave him up herself. A son revealed the hiding-place of his father, a prætor in office, and was rewarded with the ædileship. C. Toranius asked the assassins for a respite of a few moments to send his son to entreat Antony's clemency. "But it was thy son," they answered, "who

The Triumvirs.[1]

Fulvia.[2]

Fulvia.[3]

[1] Heads of Octavius, Marc Antony, and Lepidus side by side on a bronze coin of Ephesus.

[2] Head of Fulvia as Victory. On the reverse, C. NVMONIVS VAALA; soldier attacking an entrenchment.

[3] Fulvia, Antony's first wife, with the attributes of victory, the wings and shield. From a very rare bronze coin bearing the inscription, ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ [Fulvianorum]. (*Revue Numism.*, 1853, pl. x., No. 5.)

demanded thy death." The tribune Salvius was killed at table, and the murderers obliged the guests to continue the banquet.[1] Verres perished then; Antony wished to have his Corinthian bronzes. Plancus had hidden himself near Salernum, but he could not give up the delicacies of life and the perfumes which disclosed his retreat. In order to save his slaves, who were put to torture, he gave himself up.

Sextus Pompey.[2]

There were, however, some fine examples of devotion; Varro was saved by his friends, others by their slaves; Appius by his son, whose filial piety the people afterwards rewarded by giving him the ædileship. Antony's mother, the sister of L. Cæsar, threw herself before the murderers crying: "You shall not slay him till you have killed me—me, the mother of your general." He had time to flee and hide himself; a decree of the consul erased his name from the list of the proscribed. Many escaped, thanks to the ships of Sextus Pompey, who had just taken possession of Sicily, and whose fleet was cruising along the coasts. He had caused a notice to be posted in Rome itself, where the triumvirs promised

A Vessel.[3]

[1] Dion, xlvii. 5, 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 12–51. He speaks of 300 senators and 2,000 knights being proscribed. The numbers are less in Livy (*Epit.*, cxx.); there mention is only made of 130 senators.

[2] From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 184.

[3] Ship with lifts, sail, and ram. (Rich, *Dict. des antiq.*, etc., under the word *Cæruchi.*)

100,000 sesterces for a head, that he would give 200,000 for each proscribed man saved. Several succeeded in reaching Africa, Syria, and Macedonia. Cicero was less fortunate; Octavius had abandoned him to Antony's rancour, with regret, however, for it was a useless murder. Since they were going to impose silence on the Forum, what was an orator without a platform? A voice without echo, which would grow silent of its own accord. But Antony and Fulvia wished for the hand which had written and the tongue which had delivered the *Philippics*, and Octavius had called to mind the joyful cry uttered by Cicero at the news of the murder of Cæsar, his homicidal regret at not having been able to strike too. By a just retribution he who, except in one instance, was more distinguished for humanity than any other Roman, was about to meet the fate which he had wished to inflict on a greater man than himself: *pati legem quam fecit.*[1]

Cicero was with his brother at his house in Tusculum. At the first news of the proscriptions they hastened to Astura, where stood another of his villas, situated in a little islet which was sufficiently near the coast to become united to it in later times. Thence they counted upon taking ship and reaching Greece; but they lacked provisions and money; Quintus went back to get some. His son fell into the hands of the murderers, who put him to the torture to make him reveal the spot where Quintus was hidden; in spite of fearful sufferings the youth kept silence; the father, who saw and heard all, could not endure the sight, and gave himself up. At Astura Cicero found a vessel which carried him to Circeii; there despair seized him; he went ashore exclaiming: "I will die in this country which I have so often saved."[2] He formed a design of returning to Rome, secretly penetrating into the house of Octavius, and killing himself upon the hearthstone, in order to attract an avenging fury on his life. His

[1] See p. 401, note 2. Livy says of Cicero's death: *Quæ vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos item fecisset.* (Fragm. of Book cxx.)

[2] *Moriar in patria sæpe servata.* (Livy, *Fragm.*, cxx.) The historian adds; *Omnium adversorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit præter mortem.* (Cf. Quintil., *Inst.*, xii. 1, and Lucan, *Phars.*, vii. 65, who is very hostile to him.) On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 66), under Tiberius, and Juvenal (viii. 237), under Trajan, are very favourable to him. It is strange that Tacitus never mentions his name except in the *Dialogue of Orators* (40), and incidentally in the speech of Cremutius Cordus. (*Ann.*, iv. 34.)

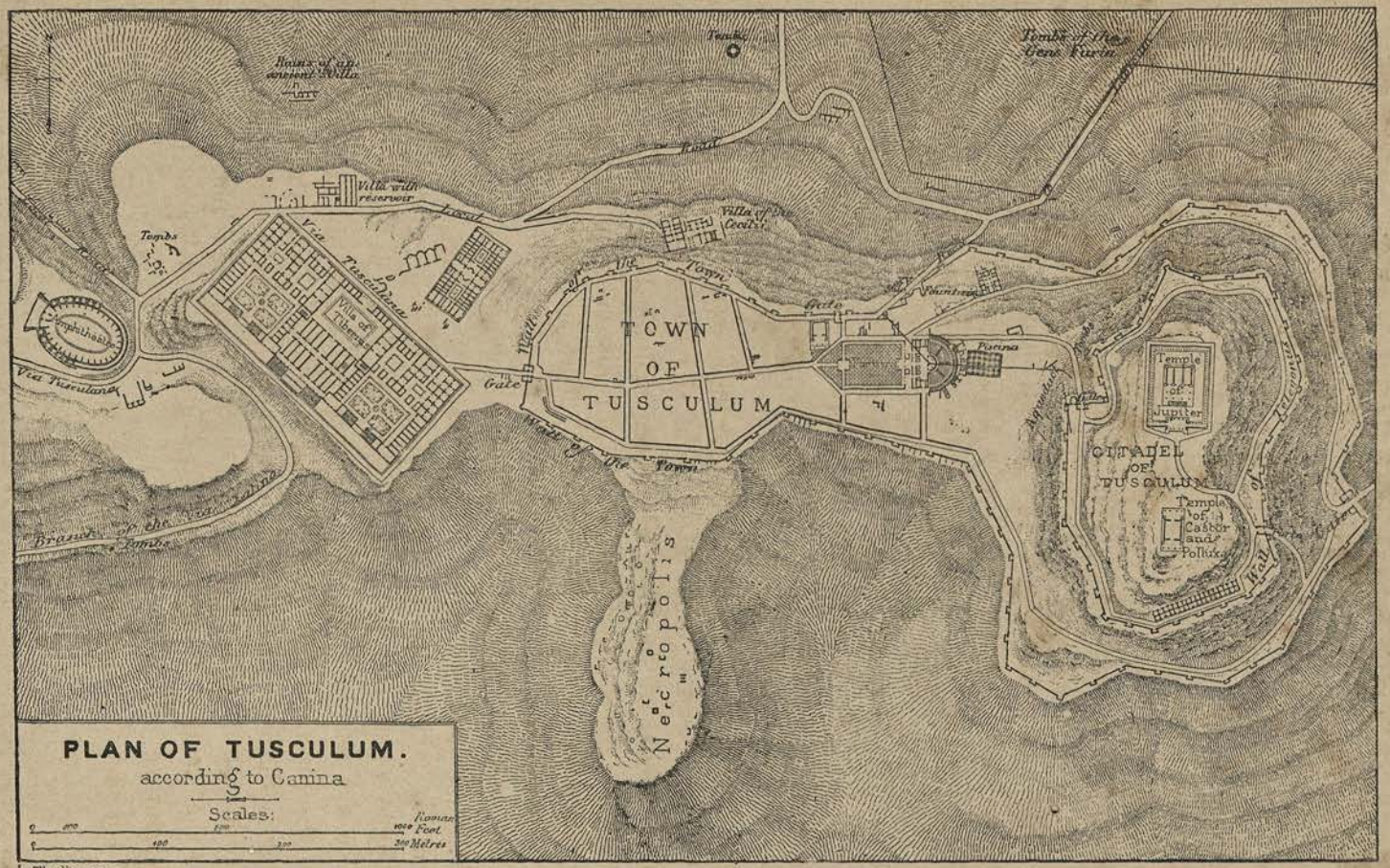
servants, however, still led him away as far as his house at Formiæ, where he landed to rest himself for a short time from the fatigues of the sea.[1]

Scarcely had he got into his litter again when the assassins arrived, led by a centurion named Herennius and a legionary tribune called Popillius, whom he had formerly saved from an accusation of parricide. They burst in the doors; but as all in the house asserted that they had seen nothing of their master, they were undecided what to do, when a young man named Philogonus, whom Cicero had himself instructed in literature, told the tribune that the litter was being carried towards the sea by covered passages. Popillius, with a few soldiers, made a rush to reach the outlet before it, whilst the rest of the band with Herennius hastened along the passage. The noise of their steps warned Cicero that he was discovered; he stopped his litter, and carrying his left hand to his chin, a common gesture with him, he looked steadily at the murderers. His disordered and dusty hair, his pale and wasted countenance, made the soldiers hesitate, and they covered their faces while Herennius struck. He had put his head out of the litter and presented his throat to the murderer (4th of December, 43). "Of all his misfortunes," says Livy, "death was the only one which he bore like a man."

According to Antony's orders they cut off his head and his hand, which were brought to the triumvir while he was at table. At the sight of them he expressed a savage satisfaction, and Fulvia, taking up the bloody head, pierced with a bodkin the tongue which had pursued her with so many well-merited sarcasms. The sad remains were then fastened to the rostra. Crowds flocked to see them, as they had but lately done to hear the great orator, but with tears and groans. Octavius himself was secretly grieved at his death; and although under his reign none ever dared pronounce that great name, he gave the consulship to his son as a reparation.

On one occasion he even bore witness to his virtues. "I have

[1] Formiæ (*Mola di Gaeta*) is four miles from Gaëta. There may still be seen there, about a mile from the shore, some remains of Cicero's villa, and the inhabitants point out an obelisk which they assert is his tomb. (Eustace, *Classical Tour*, ii. 313.) He was sixty-four years of age all but twenty-nine days.



PLAN OF TUSCULUM.
according to Canina

Scales:

L. Thuillier Del

heard tell," relates Plutarch, "that several years afterwards, Augustus having one day entered the apartment of one of his nephews, that youth, who was holding a work of Cicero's in his hands, surprised at seeing his uncle, hid the book under his robe. Augustus, who perceived this, took the book, read a great part of it standing, and returned it to the youth saying: "He was a wise man, my son; yes, a wise man, and one who loved his country well."[1]

Thus perished, in the splendour of his talent, the prince of Roman orators, and one of the most honourable men who have ever adorned literature, one of those whose writings have most contributed to the moral development of humanity.

Doubtless Cicero cannot be counted among great minds. As a philosopher his part is small; he expounds and discusses, without advancing any original views, the opinions of different schools. He himself says so to Atticus: "I have little trouble about it, for I only furnish the words for which I am never at a loss."[2] His treatise *concerning Duties* is the gospel of the Latins, but he copied Panætios; most of his works on rhetoric are translated or imitated from the Greeks. His *Laws* are rather a brilliant résumé of Roman legislation than a theory in the style of Aristotle or Plato; and his mind has such difficulty in rising above present things, that in the *Republic*, the most original of his works, he shows the ideal of the best government fully realized in the constitution of Rome. Possessing a supple and brilliant understanding, he lacks depth and breadth; he is above all things an artist in language.

As a philosopher, he may be blamed for many contradictions; as a *consularis* for many errors; as an individual for many weaknesses.

His philosophy was like Janus, it had two faces, one for the profane, another for the initiated. In the peroration of the *Verrine*

[1] Atticus, Cicero's great friend, did not perish with him. We have seen how he took his precautions with Antony by aiding with his wealth the triumvir's wife, who during the siege of Modena had remained at Rome without any resources. This clever man, the friend of the the tyrannicide, married his only daughter to Agrippa and his granddaughter to Tiberius. Accordingly he had taken great care to destroy all his correspondence with Cicero, in which the new masters might have read his homicidal wishes against Cæsar.

[2] *Ad Att.*, xii. 52; *Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.*

Orations, he retains the gods and the old beliefs as oratorical properties; in the *Republic* and the *Laws*, as a useful instrument of government; and in the *Tusculan Disputations*, in the treatise concerning the *Nature of the Gods*, paganism is no longer aught but a tissue of fables and symbols; in the two books on *Divination*, the public religion is so completely destroyed with deadly irony that the pagans demanded the burning of that work. The conclusion which is naturally reached by himself and his readers from these contradictory data, is that men must doubt, because certain problems are insoluble.

In politics his view did not extend beyond a limited horizon. He knew better than any other man the vices of the nobles and of their government; but as a *novus homo* he served their interests, in order to induce them to accept him. A great orator, he grew intoxicated with his own eloquence, and dreamt of governing the empire with speeches. Had he possessed the master quality of the statesman, the art of discovering the real wants of his times, he would have placed his fine faculties at the service of the new ideas, and aided Cæsar in carrying out a pacific reform which would have averted the bloody revolution of the second triumvirate; but with Cæsar he would have occupied a second place, and he wished to be first in everything.

His correspondence reveals serious faults, a feminine vanity,[1] skill in compromises, and a changeableness which made him pass in a few days from one sentiment to the very opposite;[2] but what man seen as he is, in the full glare of day, and in the secrecy of his inmost feelings, would preserve that reputation for austere gravity which is only the mask of a clever intriguer?

In short, if he created nothing, at least his marvellous facility in appropriating the ideas of others has circulated an infinite number of beautiful and grand thoughts which we should otherwise

[1] The proof of this is found everywhere throughout his correspondence. See his curious letter to Lucceius whom he urges to write the history of his famous consulship, "favouring friendship a little more than truth."

[2] At the end of October, Cato was his dearest friend; at the beginning of November he would have willingly made him out to be a dishonest man, and that too, for the very same matter; *Amicissimus meus qui honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixit* (*ad Att.*, vii. 1) .... *qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus.* (*Ibid.*, 2.) Seneca said; *In Cicerone constantia desideratur.* (*Suasor.*, 11, 12.)

have lost, and which, collected in his works, have made him one of the preceptors of the human race.[1]

When he boasted of having snatched from ageing Greece her philosophic glory, he deceived himself. But Greek civilization had travelled towards the East. Cicero concentrated, if I may so say, its scattered rays and sent them back towards the barbarian West, for which Greece had done nothing.[2] What does it matter to us after all that he was only an echo, since that resounding echo has spread throughout the whole world words which, but for him, would have remained idle and unknown.

In ethics and theology we have the idea of unity and divine Providence, of the immortality of the soul,[3] of human liberty and responsibility, of punishments and rewards, reserved for another life.

In political morality we have the idea of universal citizenship whereof charity should be the chief bond, the perfecting of our species, the necessity for all to work for the general good, and the obligation to found the useful upon the honourable, law upon equity, sovereignty upon justice, that is to say, the civil upon the natural law, revealed by God Himself, since He had graven it on the hearts of all men.[4] Such are some of the noble beliefs which the magic of his style has popularized. All this is not, it is true, either rigorously demonstrated or dogmatically systematized. It is the effort of a fair soul seeking everywhere what elevates and consoles, arriving at the truths of natural religion, and not the patient work of the philosopher constructing a coherent system. But to speak to the heart, is all this logic necessary?

[1] Alexander Severus, in his *Lararium*, places him beside Moses and Plato. (Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 31.) "After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass upon his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example." (Merivale, vol. iii. p. 212.)

[2] He himself says in his *pro Archia* (100); "What is written in Greek is read almost everywhere; the Latin never quits its territory, which is a small one."

[3] On this life to come and on the government of the world by Providence he has often doubts in his *Treatises*, but not in his *Speeches*, and it is his speeches especially which have been read.

[4] It has been said of Cicero that he was one of the representatives of that former Christianity which has so often been noticed, and of which Plato was, as it were, the apostle. Erasmus indeed, is quite ready to demand his canonization; he does not doubt; . . . . *quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt aliqua divinitas occuparit.* (Le Clerc, *Œuvres de Cicéron*, vol. xxviii. p. 7.) Petrarch had already spoken to the same effect. (Mezières, *Pétrarque*, p. 345, 414, 416.) On the ensemble of Cicero's moral ideas, see a very learned chapter by M. Havet. (*Le Christianisme et ses origines*, vol. ii. p. 110-142, chap. xi.)

I would willingly conclude with Quintilian: "A man grows better by delighting in Cicero,"[1] and with Dante, that posterity will always preserve his name:

De cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura
E durera, quanto 'l mondo lontana.[2]

In those bloody saturnalia of the second triumvirate, Octavius, notwithstanding his youth, had displayed extreme cruelty; as he was the most intelligent, on him falls the heaviest share of the responsibility. The murder above all of the man whom he had called his father, who had secured his first steps and obtained for him his first honours, leaves on his name a blot which is not wiped out by the glory of the reign of Augustus. This blood stains the hand which has shed it, and "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten it."[3]

[1] *Institut.*, x. 1; *Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.*

[2] *Inferno*, ii. 59–60.

[3] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act v. Scene 1.

[4] From an agate in the National Museum of Naples, pl. 106. (See above, on p. 292, the influence of Greek art on the transformation of the ancient Medusa.)

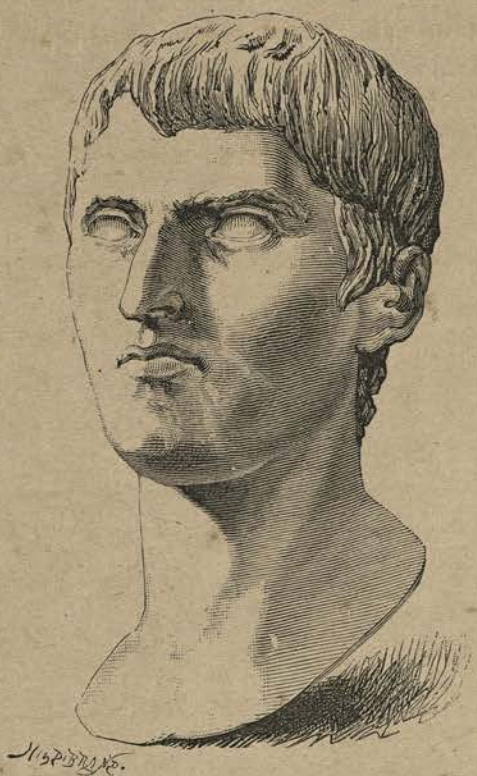
Head of Medusa.

CHAPTER LX.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE UP TO THE DEATH OF LEPIDUS (43—36 B.C.).

I.—Preparations of the Triumvirs and the Murderers.

DURING the days of blood, Lepidus and Plancus, the consuls-elect, had issued an edict, under threat of proscription, to hold festivals on the renewal of the year. They even had the courage to celebrate each of them a triumph for some insignificant successes won in Spain and Gaul. The soldiers, punning on the double meaning of the word *germanus*, which means a brother as well as a German, sang behind their chariot: "It is not over the Gauls but over their own brothers that our consuls triumph." Each of them indeed had given up a brother to the murderers. The soldiers felt themselves to be necessary,[1] and did not think that their leaders, in tolerating their insolence, paid too dearly for the power which they had conferred on them. They would scarcely allow



Lepidus.[2]

[1] Ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 35.)

[2] Bust in the Parma Museum, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, pl. 9.

the property of the proscribed to be sold. One wanted a villa, another some land; this man took the house, that man the money and slaves. Some forced wealthy citizens to adopt them that they might become their heirs; others, less patient, slew the man, proscribed or not, whose fortune they coveted. Happy were those whose houses they contented themselves with plundering. The whole city trembled before this soldiery recruited from robbers, gladiators, and slaves escaped from their prisons. One of the consuls was, however, bold enough to crucify some of these legionary slaves.

Save for this noise of soldiers, a deadly silence reigned round the three masters of Rome. Some women, it is said, dared to break it. To fill their military chest, which stood in need of 80,000,000 sesterces, they had imposed a heavy contribution on 1,400 of the richest matrons. Led by Hortensia, the daughter of the orator, they repaired to the Forum, and made their way up to the tribunal of the triumvirs. Hortensia began: "Before presenting ourselves before you," said she, "we have solicited the intervention of Fulvia; her refusal has obliged us to come hither. Already you have taken away our fathers, our children, our brothers, our husbands; to deprive us of our fortune also is to reduce us to a condition which befits neither our birth, nor our habits, nor our sex; it is to extend your proscriptions to us. But have we then raised soldiers against you or sought after your offices? Do we dispute the power for which you are fighting? From the time of Hannibal our ancestors have willingly given to the treasury their jewels and ornaments; let the Gauls or the Parthians come and there will be found in us no less patriotism; but do not ask us to contribute to this fratricidal war which is rending the Republic; neither Marius, nor Cinna, nor even Sylla during his tyranny dared to do so."[1] The triumvirs tried to drive the orator and her fellows from the spot, but the people began to be stirred, and they prudently yielded. The next day an edict appeared reducing the number of taxed matrons to 400.

The political foes of the triumvirs had paid for their opposition with their lives: the rest of the people paid for their cowardly

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 32. This speech of Hortensia, like so many others of antiquity, is probably not authentic; yet Quintilian (i. 1, 6) says he read it. (Cf. Val. Max., viii. 3, 3.)

submission with a part of their possessions. All the inhabitants

Gladiator Fully Armed.[1]

of Rome and of Italy, citizens and foreigners, priests and freedmen,

[1] Helmet with visor, coat of mail, *lorica hammata*; the arms, thighs, and legs are guarded by bands of metal. The name reads Myron. Bas-relief in the Louvre Museum, No. 629 of the Clarac Catalogue.

possessed of more than 100,000 drachmæ, *lent* the tithe of their property and *gave* a year's income.[1] It is needless to add that the laws and the magistracies were treated with no more respect than property and life. "They changed the magistrates," says one of the ancients, "they abolished the laws; they made others according to their good pleasure, so that Cæsar's reign seemed to have been the golden age." [2] When, glutted with blood and rapine, the triumvirs announced that the proscription was at an end, the senate awarded them civic crowns as saviours of their country. Octavius, who had shown himself the cruellest, reserved to himself a few more murders, declaring that he had not punished all the guilty.

Serapis.[3]

The last measure of the triumvirs in this terrible year was an act of devotion: a decree for the erection of a temple to Serapis and Isis. This was a far from costly concession to the popular element, and a continuation on other grounds of the war against

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, IV. 34. Dion (xlviii. 14) gives different numbers, but shows a still more deplorable condition of things at Rome and in Italy.

[2] . . . . ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι. (Dion, xlvii. 15.)

[3] Found at Tivoli.

the nobles. The lower people sought after new gods, and they had good reason; for more than a century their old gods had been deaf to their prayers. But the senate disliked these foreign superstitions, which they could not direct in furtherance of their policy; they had attempted in 58 to expel Isis from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the populace had opposed them. In 53, at the time of the oligarchical reaction, another decree ordered the destruction of all chapels of the Egyptian goddess, and forbade the worship of her even in the interior of houses, and Cæsar renewed this prohibition six years later. To maintain the purity of the Roman faith was the least of the triumvirs' cares; Isis was pleasing the populace; so they restored her to them.

Isis.[1]

On the first of January, 42, Plancus and Lepidus entered into possession of the consulship; the oath to observe the laws and acts of Cæsar was renewed, with great honours to his memory, festivals, temples, and a complete apotheosis. As he was declared a god,[2] they gave him a flamen, a college of Julian priests, and public sacrifices; it was forbidden to carry his image at the funerals of his relatives, since he had passed from his earthly family into that of Jupiter; the right of asylum was allowed to

[1] Fine bronze from Herculaneum. This statuette combines the attributes of Fortune with those of the goddess Isis. (*Bronzes d'Herculanum*, p. 99.)

[2] Θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος. (Dion, xlvii. 19.)

the *heroön*, or chapel, which was raised to him on the spot where his body had been burnt, and all citizens were to celebrate the anniversary of his birth. Any man among the plebs who refused was devoted to Jupiter and Cæsar, that is to say, was put to death; a senator or senator's son got off with a fine of 250,000 drachmæ. This was the beginning of that strange legislation which under the Empire established so great a penal difference between the *honestior* and the *humilior*.[1] A difficulty arose. The festival of Apollo fell on the same day as that of Cæsar, and the Sibylline oracle prescribed that only the son of Latona should be honoured on that day. It was agreed that the new god should give way, that his recent divinity should not avail him against that of the older god, and so the festival of Cæsar was fixed on the eve of the Apollinarian games.

The triumvirs settled all the offices for the following years; then Octavius repaired to Rhegium and Antony to Brundisium, where the fleet was only awaiting a fair wind to carry the army to Greece. Cornificius, who commanded in the name of the senate in the old province of Africa, had just been conquered and slain by Sittius, governor of Numidia; all the West, therefore, except Sicily, where Sextus Pompey had established himself, obeyed the triumvirs. After a futile attempt by the young Cæsar against Sextus, they crossed the Ionian sea, without any molestation from the Republican fleet, which numbered 130 large vessels, under the orders of Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Cæsar had merely passed through the East, the principal scene of Pompey's glory. The name of the latter was still respected there; and as the murderers of the dictator were looked upon as having avenged on him his rival's death, they had found a safe asylum in these provinces, which were moreover animated with a spirit wholly differing from that of the West. On quitting Italy, Brutus had repaired to Athens, where at first he only seemed to occupy himself in attending the lessons of Theomnestus, the Academic, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic. He worked, however, at gaining the young Romans resident in that city, and distributed money among them without any regard to services or

[1] See in the *Mémoires* of the *Acad. des inscripts* (vol. xxix., part 2) my memoir on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores*.

age. Horace was scarcely twenty, yet he was appointed legionary tribune.[1] As soon as it became known that Brutus was collecting soldiers, the remnants of the Pompeian legions left in Greece after Pharsalia flocked round him. A quæstor who was bearing to Rome the taxes of Asia, allowed himself to be won over, and delivered up to him 500,000 drachmæ, which helped him in his negotiations with the troops; 500 horse whom Cinna was leading to Dolabella in Asia also went over to his side, and the younger Cicero raised a whole legion and gave it to him. Finally, in Demetrias he found vast collections of arms got together by Cæsar for his expedition against the Parthians.

The plebiscitum which had deprived him of the government of Macedonia was illegal, since the acts of the dictator had been confirmed. The proconsul, Q. Hortensius, recognized him as his lawful successor, and made over the command to him, a decision which gave him a vast province and an army, threatening Italy. Antony had ordered his brother Caius to contest Greece with the Republicans by joining with his own troops those under the command of Vatinius in Illyria. In order to prevent their junction Brutus marched upon Dyrrachium and enticed away the soldiers of Vatinius. At Apollonia Caius Antonius was no longer master of his own men; in the first engagement he lost three cohorts; in the second he was conquered and made prisoner by the younger Cicero, and then put to death by the order of Brutus, in retaliation for the murder of Dec. Brutus, who had been sacrificed by Antony (43). An expedition against the Bessi brought Thrace too under the Republican general, whom his troops saluted with the title of *imperator*. From the Euxine to the Adriatic all obeyed him; and he collected 16,000 talents.

It must not, however, be thought that any violent love for the Republic existed in these countries. The Athenians, who had lost everything save their eloquence, celebrated in prose and verse the act of the tyrannicides, and raised bronze statues to Brutus and Cassius, beside those of Harmodios and Aristogiton. But the other Greeks, less fond of rhetoric and better moulded to obedience, submitted to the orders of Brutus, because they saw in him the

[1] Horace, *Sat.*, I. vi. 48.

lawful representative of the Roman government. Moreover, the new Civil war would doubtless end in proscriptions, which would allow of plunder, and certainly in gratuities to the victors. If each of the triumvir's soldiers had been richly rewarded for a partial victory, how much would not those of Brutus receive for a triumph which would save his head and his party? Accordingly, all the adventurers from all the countries on the east side of the Adriatic flocked round the standard of the tyrannicides, as on the opposite shore they came and ranged themselves beneath the ensigns of Cæsar's avengers. Excepting to the leaders and their personal friends, booty was everything and the cause nothing.

Cassius had also repaired to his government of Syria, where he had left a good character behind him at the time of the expedition of Crassus, and all the troops had gone over to him. Antony's colleague Dolabella arrived at almost the same time in the province of Asia, where his emissaries surprised Trebonius, one of Cæsar's murderers. Trebonius demanded to be led before the proconsul: "Let him go where he will," replied Dolabella, on condition that he leaves his head behind him." He was tortured for two whole days, and his head was kicked about by the populace of Smyrna. But Dolabella could not maintain this first advantage; being besieged in Laodicea in Syria, he ordered one of the soldiers of his guard to cut off his head. When this news reached Rome Cicero had already proposed the outlawry of his son-in-law; he instigated the voting of a senatus-consultum confirming Brutus and Cassius in their governments, and placing under their orders all the troops scattered between the Ionian sea and the Euphrates, with the right of raising the necessary money and of summoning to their aid the contingents of allied kings.[2] In announcing these decrees to them, he urged them to return to Italy in order to free the senate from any need of the dangerous support of Octavius. But neither of them had that decision which doubles a man's strength. In a time of

Coin of Laodicea.[1]

[1] ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; local deity standing. Bronze coin of Laodicea.

[2] Cassius even solicited aid of the Parthians, to whom he sent the son of Labienus, and among whom he recruited a few archers. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxvii.; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 59 and 63; Dion, xlviii. 24.)

Ruins of Xanthos (theatre and tomb) from Sir Charles Fellows *Lycia, Caria, Lydia.*

revolution, when opinion contributes so much towards success, where rashness is advisable again and again, they tried to carry on a methodic warfare, stopping before every town, and never leaving behind them a shadow of resistance. Instead of responding to Cicero's appeal, Brutus sent him sarcasms on his prudence and on his connection with Octavius; he cast doubt on his courage and foresight. But whilst he was writing fine stoic sentences to him and to Atticus, events were hurrying, and the news of the formation of the triumvirate, of the proscriptions, and of Cicero's death, found him on the road to Asia with his army, and Cassius marching towards Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the help she had furnished to Dolabella.

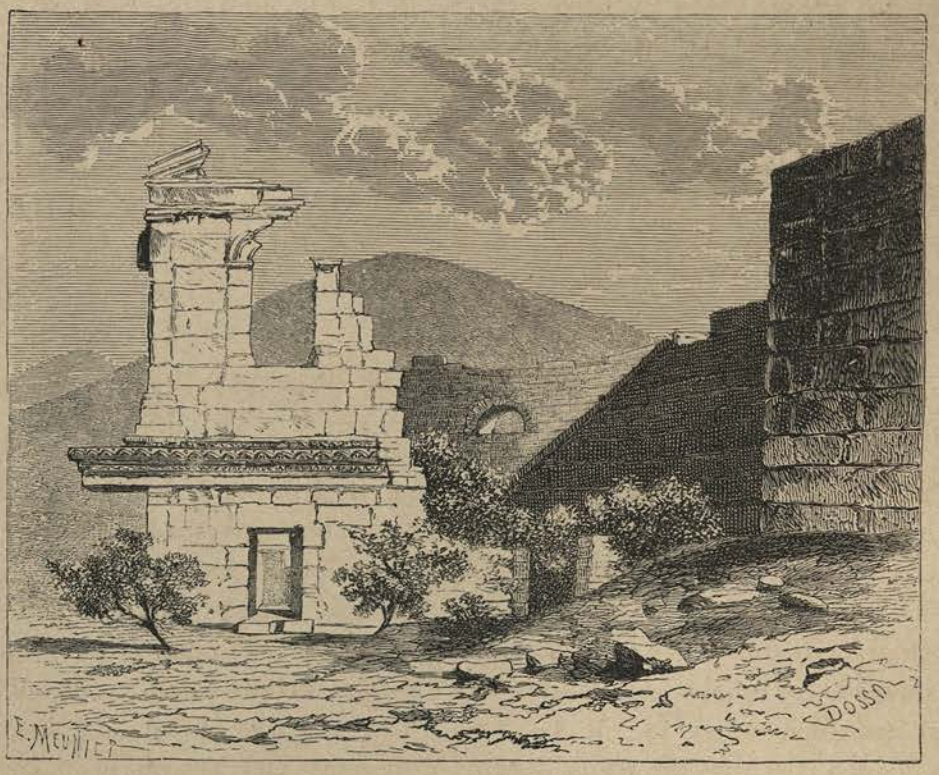
They then perceived the necessity for uniting. At the interview at Smyrna Cassius still prevailed on his colleague to follow the plan of awaiting the enemy in the East, and of employing the troops in subduing the nations which offered resistance; these were the Lycians, Rhodes, and the king of Cappadocia. They divided between them the money which Cassius by his exactions had already collected, and then separated. Brutus entered Lycia, where he met with no resistance except before the town of Xanthos. Rather than surrender, the Xanthians set fire to their houses and threw themselves into the flames with their wives and children;[2] of the whole population there survived but 150 persons. Patara in affright gave up all the gold and silver it possessed, whether in coined money or in ingots; whosoever attempted to hide his wealth was put to death. Cassius on his side attacked Rhodes. The inhabitants invoked their title of allies of the Roman people: "By giving help to Dolabella," replied he, "you have torn up that treaty." He overcame their fleet in two battles, and took their city, which he plundered. They besought him to leave them at least the statues of their gods. "I will leave you the sun," said he. Some consoled themselves, regarding this speech as an involuntary but certain presage of approaching death. He beheaded fifty of the principal

Coin of Xanthos.[1]

[1] Head of the Sun; in front, a bird. On the reverse, ΞΑ, a pomegranate flower, two monograms, a thyrsus and an unknown object. Silver coin of Xanthos.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 34.

inhabitants, and carried off from the island 8,500 talents. Already at Laodicea he had plundered the temples and the public treasury, and put the noblest citizens to death. At Tarsus, which had taken advantage of these complications to vent an old quarrel with Adana, he exacted 1,500 talents. On returning to the mainland he entered Cappadocia, where he slew the king, Ariobarzanes, in order to possess himself of his wealth, and he put the whole of



Patara (Ruins of the Theatre according to Fellows *Lycia*, &c., pl. 8).

Roman Asia under the most intolerable exactions. The province had to pay ten years' taxes all at once. In Judæa he had fixed the contribution at more than 700 talents; and as the money did not come in quickly enough, notwithstanding Herod's zeal, he caused the inhabitants of the towns to be sold.[1]

In his former government of Cisalpine Gaul, Brutus had earned by his justice the gratitude of the inhabitants, who had raised a statue to him, and who succeeded in inducing Augustus

[1] Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. 18.

to leave it standing; he attempted to mitigate the evils of the war. In a second interview with Cassius at Sardis, he blamed him severely for bringing their cause into detestation. "It would have been better," said he, "to let Cæsar live. If he shut his eyes to the injustice of his party, he himself at least never despoiled anyone." But they had the most numerous army that Rome had ever led to battle; it was necessary to feed, pay and retain soldiers and officers by yielding to all their covetous desires; so that the last chiefs of the Republic seemed to set themselves to work to prove to the nations, which suffered by the passions they did not share, the necessity of a government capable of securing that most precious of all liberties, the freedom of home, property, and life.

Coin of Sardis.[1]

II.—Double Battle of Philippi (Autumn, 42).

Laden with the plunder of Asia, the two armies set forth on their return to Europe. One night as Brutus sat wakeful in his tent [at Abydos], a spectre of strange and terrible aspect appeared before him: "Who art thou, man or god?" said the stoic general without a tremor. "I am thy evil genius," replied the phantom, "thou wilt meet me again on the plains of Philippi," and he vanished. On the following day Brutus related this vision of his troubled mind to the epicurean Cassius, who, like Lucretius, explained to him the vain nature of dreams and apparitions. In Thrace they were joined by a chief of the country, named Rhascuporis, who led them by the shortest road into Macedonia. They had 80,000 infantry and 20,000 horse, as rapacious and undisciplined as those of the triumvirs; and in order to incite them to fight well they gave them each 1,500 drachmæ, to the centurions 7,500, and to the tribunes in proportion; 20,000 auxiliaries, perhaps, followed their nineteen legions.

A hostile army commanded by Norbanus, eight legions strong, had entrenched itself in the defiles of the Sapeans. Guided by the

[1] CAPΔIC; head of the city of Sardis, veiled and turret-crowned. Bronze coin.

Thracian Rhascuporis, they turned this position by crossing impracticable mountains; Norbanus escaped by retiring rapidly upon Amphipolis, which Antony was approaching; but he abandoned the strong position of Philippi to his foes.

Proserpine gathering Flowers.[2]

A plain eight leagues in length from north to south, and four leagues across from east to west, surrounded on three sides by mountains crowned with majestic forests, formed an immense circus which seemed as if nature herself had prepared it for a bloody arena.[1] The ancients called this place the gate of Europe and Asia, because it was the best passage from one continent to the other, and the Greeks had placed there the scene of the poetic legend of Proserpine carried off by Pluto as she was gathering flowers in that fertile plain.[3] Here camped the last army of the Republic, and the first soldiers of the Empire.

Coin of Philippi (Gold).[4]

Coin of Philippi (Silver).

The Republicans occupied a formidable position. Being masters of the fortress of Philippi, which stood on a rocky promontory in the midst of the plain, they had taken up their position in front of

[1] Leake, *Travel in North Greece*, vol. iii. p. 183, 191.

[2] Terra-cotta from Cyrene in the *Cabinet de France*. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 8.)

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 105.

[4] ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ; tripod and bunch of grapes. Reverse of a gold coin of Philippi.

it on both sides of the *Via Egnatia;* Brutus on the slopes of the Panaghirdagh, Cassius on two hills near the sea, in order to maintain communication with the fleet, which was stationed behind him at Neapolis, and with his stores established in the island of Thasos. An entrenchment ran between the camps which faced westward, the side from which the triumviral army approached, and a river, the Gangas, covered the front. But this river was fordable

Pluto and Proserpine.[1]

everywhere, and the entrenchment, 300 yards long, would not be difficult to cross for an enterprising enemy.

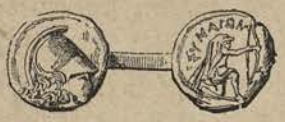
Coin of Neapolis.[2]

Antony had taken up his position in front of Cassius, and Octavius, on his left, facing Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in point of numbers. If the Republicans were stronger in cavalry, their legionaries were not so good as those of the triumvirs, who were almost all old soldiers. But they had a formidable fleet, which intercepted all supplies for the Cæsarians by sea. Accordingly Antony, threatened with famine, longed for battle, which Cassius, on the contrary, wished to put off. Brutus, eager to have done with his anxiety and terminate the Civil war, for the end of which his Asiatic auxiliaries clamoured, persisted in his advice to fight, and carried the majority with him. In both camps the

[1] Mural painting discovered at Ostia and published in the *Monum. inéd. de l'Institut archéol.*, vol. viii., pl. xxviii., No. 2.

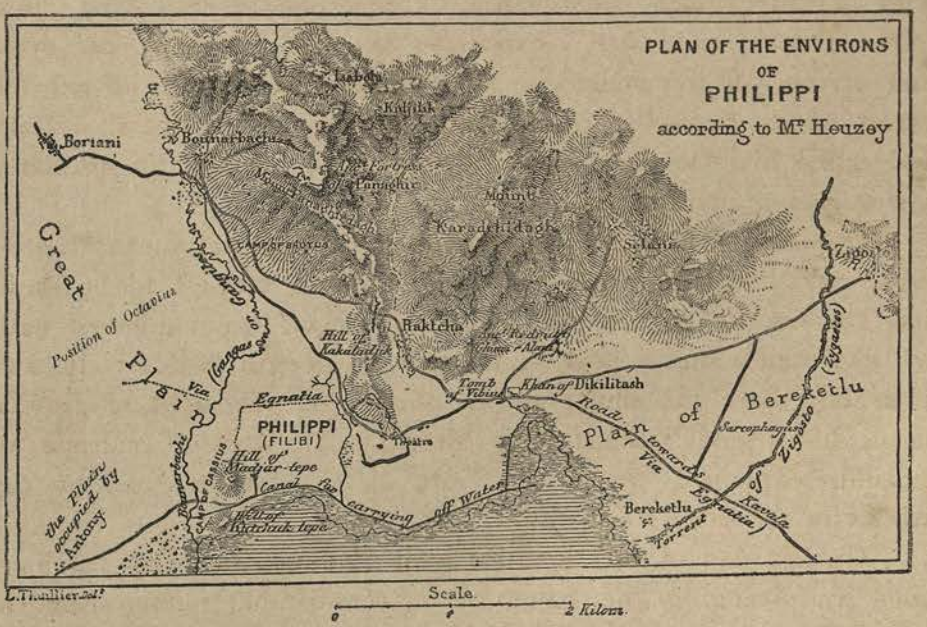
[2] Mask or head of the Gorgon. Silver coin of Neapolis.

lustrations usual on the eve of a battle were made,[1] to conciliate the favour of the gods, but Antony made sure of it by choosing his point of attack well. He manœuvred so as to cut off the enemy from his fleet; it was thus on the south that the action began. Octavius was sick, so sick that he had not the strength to bear arms or to stand upright; nevertheless, he quitted his camp and took his place between the lines of his legionaries. On this



Coin found at Neapolis (Kavala).[2]

Coin found at Kavala.



Plan of the Environs of Philippi.[3]

decisive day the soldiers needed to see their chief, dead or alive, in the midst of them. One of the lieutenants of Brutus, named Messala, attacking the Cæsarians impetuously, broke through their left wing and penetrated into their camp, where the litter of Octavius, which had been left there, was riddled with arrows. The report spread that he had been killed, and Brutus thought that the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony pierced

[1] Dion, xlvii. 38.
[2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 3.
[3] *Id., op. cit.*, plan A.

through the enemy's ranks and took his camp. The dust which covered the plain and the extent of the line of battle, prevented the incidents of the action being observed. Cassius, who had taken refuge with some of his men on a neighbouring height, saw a body of cavalry coming towards him; to avoid falling alive into the hands of his foes, he ordered a freedman to kill him; it was Brutus who, having conquered, was hastening to his aid. The flatterers of the new royalty afterwards said that at the critical moment terror had seized the soul of the Epicurean sceptic; that he had thought he saw Cæsar covered with a purple mantle and with a threatening countenance, urging his horse upon him. "Yet I had slain thee," exclaimed he, turning away his eyes, and driven by the vengeance of the god, he himself offered his throat to the sword.[1] Brutus, on seeing his dead body, shed tears and called him the last of the Romans. He himself, by his fierce virtue, better merited that title.

Quintilius Varus, whom Cæsar had twice found in the hostile ranks and twice dismissed unharmed, caused himself to be slain, like Cassius, by his freedmen. Labeo, one of the murderers, with his own hands dug a hole in his tent the length of his body, and then laid bare his throat to his slave. At the sight of Cassius dead, his friend Titinius slew himself. It was an epidemic of suicide, explained by the certainty of the fate reserved by the triumvirs for their foes.

On the day of this first battle of Philippi, Domitius Calvinus, who was bringing the triumvirs a considerable reinforcement of troops from Italy, had been beaten by the fleet of Brutus. Thus the sea was still closed to them; famine threatened, and the autumn rains rendered their position in these low and marshy lands scarcely tenable. Before them was an army still formidable, but behind them was famine, far more formidable. They must needs fight, then. Antony eagerly sought an opportunity for so doing, but for twenty days the Republicans refused. In spite, however, of a fresh gratuity of 1,000 drachmæ to his soldiers,[2]

[1] Val. Max., I. viii. 8.

[2] The triumvirs on their side on the day following the battle gave 500 drachmæ to each soldier, 2,500 to the centurions, 5,000 to the tribunes. We quote the figures in order to show plainly why they fought.

and the promise to give up to them the plunder of Sparta and Thessalonica, Brutus saw that discouragement was setting in among his troops. The Thracians of Rhascuporis left his camp; the Galatians of Dejotarus went over to that of the triumvirs, who threw into his lines messages full of promises for deserters. Brutus feared lest those of his soldiers who had served under Cæsar should go and join his adopted son. To stop this movement he gave battle. This time Octavius drove back the enemy opposed to him right into their camp, whilst Antony, having also won on his side, shut in the legions of the left wing and cut them to pieces.[1] Their leader would have been taken by some Thracian horsemen but for a ruse of Lucillius, one of his friends, who cried: "I am Brutus," and made them lead him before Antony, who admired his devotion.

Meanwhile Brutus had reached a height where he halted to accomplish what he called his deliverance. Strato, his teacher in rhetoric, held out a sword to him, averting his eyes; he fell upon the point with such force that he was pierced through and immediately expired. Popular imagination has surrounded the last moments of the Republican chief with dramatic circumstances. The phantom he had seen at Abydos, they said, again appeared to him, according to its promise, on the night before the battle, and passed before him sad and speechless. According to others an expression of anger and bitter deception escaped him at the final moment: "Virtue, thou art but a name!" Cato, whose life had been a simple and upright one had died with more calmness, reading a treatise on the immortality of the soul. Brutus died despairing of liberty, philosophy and virtue, a just chastisement for the dreamer who had thwarted his age without perceiving it, for the man of meditation who, thinking to stop with a dagger-thrust a revolution which had been gathering way for more than a century, had only succeeded in letting loose fearful calamities upon his country. The Republicans held him up as their second martyr, but he was not worthy of the honour.

Some of the friends of Brutus had slain themselves by his side; others, as the sons of Cato and Lucullus, had fallen in the

[1] Such is Appian's account. (*Bell. civ.*, iv. 128.) Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*, represents Octavius as being again beaten in this second engagement.

fray; the former of these had fought bravely, crying his name aloud to the Cæsarians in order to draw more foes within reach of his sword, and had sold his life dearly. Hortensius, the son of the great orator, was a prisoner; by the order of Brutus he had put to death, by way of reprisal for the proscriptions, C. Antonius, who had fallen into his hands; Antony now caused him to be slain on his brother's tomb. The triumvir displayed some mildness, however; he wished to have Brutus honourably buried; but Octavius had the corpse beheaded and sent to Rome to be laid at the foot of Cæsar's image.[1] He was pitiless towards his captives, and looked on coldly at their execution. A father and son besought each that the other's life might be spared; he made them draw lots. Another asked that he might at least be buried. "That," said he, "concerns the vultures." Yet he welcomed Valerius Messala, in spite of his friendship for Brutus, and often allowed him to praise the virtue of the Republican leader. More than 14,000 men had surrendered, the others were slain or in flight; some of the latter reached Sicily, and the whole of the fleet, assembled under the command of Domitius Ahenobarbus, joined itself to that of Sextus (Autumn of 42).[2]

Coin of Domitius Ahenobarbus.[3]

If vengeance be a pleasure of the gods, Cæsar must have been satisfied; from the heights of Olympus, whither they had raised him, he had seen all the heroes of the ides of March fall, within three years, in battles or proscriptions,

[1] According to Dion (xlvii. 49) this head did not reach Rome; it fell into the sea in a tempest. Porcia, the wife of Brutus, learning of her husband's death, wished to kill herself; being closely watched by her family she could only accomplish her purpose by swallowing red-hot coals. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 136.) But Plutarch (*Brut.*, 53) had read a letter from Brutus in which he reproached his relations with having so neglected his wife that she had allowed herself to die in order to be freed from a painful malady. Another heroic legend to be suppressed.

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 13; Dion, xlvii. 49; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 131. According to M. Heuzey, who, in his *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, discovered the battlefield of Philippi, Antony forced the entrenchment between the two hills of Madjiar-tepe and Kutchuk-tepe, whilst Cassius was occupied in fortifying his two extended lines, then seized upon his camp and drove his army back in disorder in the direction of Philippi. After the death of Cassius, Brutus went and encamped at Madjiar-tepe in order to maintain his communications with the sea. But Antony took Kutchuk-tepe by surprise and posted four legions there. M. Heuzey thinks that after the second battle of Philippi, Brutus withdrew on to the slopes of the Karadchidagh, and that he slew himself in one of the valleys occupied by the hamlets of Isabola and Kidjilik.

[3] Head of Domitius Ahenobarbus, cousin of Brutus. From a coin.

or struck by their own hands with the swords which they had stained with his blood.

III.—Fresh Division of the World; Antony and Cleopatra; War of Perusia (41—40).

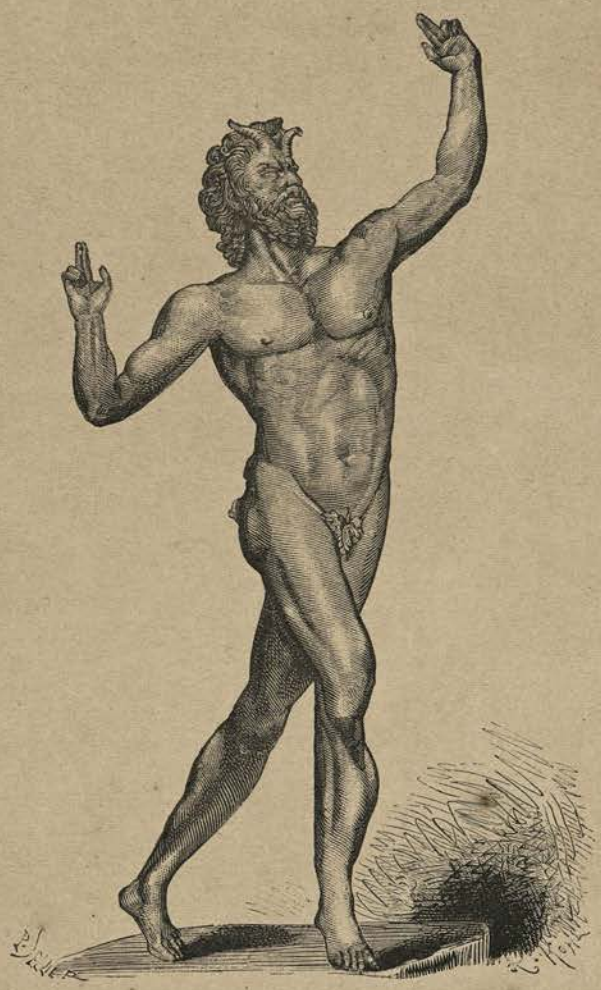
The two victors made a fresh division between them. Octavius took Spain and Numidia, Antony, Gallia Comat and Africa. Gallia Cisalpina, being too near to Rome, was to cease to be a province.[1] As for Lepidus, he was already excluded from a share, because they thought he had a secret understanding with Sextus Pompey; he afterwards received Africa. The leaders' shares being thus settled, it remained to give the soldiers theirs. They fully intended to be paid for the victory. They had been promised each a portion of land and 5,000 drachmæ, or about £200, and there were 170,000 of them, without counting the cavalry. The triumvirs had nothing left; the wealth of Asia seemed inexhaustible; Antony took upon himself to find in that country a great part of the 200,000 talents required.[3] Octavius, whose health was still weak, assumed the task, apparently more thankless, of dispossessing the inhabitants of Italy in order to distribute their lands among the veterans. While he was making his way towards Rome, where he was certain to win the troops to him by giving them what Antony contented himself with promising, the latter passed through Greece, took part in its games, its festivals, and the lessons of its rhetors, and by this condescension to their tastes won the name of the friend of the Greeks. But in Asia, amid those voluptuous cities, the warrior lost himself in delights. In that land of luxury and pleasures, the Romans threw away the remnant of modesty which they retained at Rome. Antony surrounded himself with flute-players, mountebanks and dancing women He entered Ephesus, preceded by women dressed as Bacchantes, and youths in the garb of Fauns and Satyrs. Already

Sextus Pompey.[2]

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 3. Octavius thus completed what Cæsar had begun; γνώμη Καίσαρος.
[2] MAG(nus) PIVS IMP. ITER. Coin of Sextus Pompey.
[3] Plut., *Anton.*, 24. The number is given by Appian (v. 5) as 170,000 soldiers.

Dancing Girls (bas-relirf in the Louvre).

he assumed the attributes of Bacchus, and set himself to play the part by continual orgies. In order to supply money for his prodigal expenditure, he oppressed the nations cruelly. After Cassius there remained but little gold in the temples and treasuries of the cities; but he plundered private individuals. His flatterers easily obtained the inheritance of a living man; for a good dish he gave his cook the house of a citizen of Magnesia; to another man, for a song, the office of receiver of taxes of four cities.[1]



Dancing Faun.[2]

When the deputies of the towns protested against the ten years' tribute which he had imposed upon them, he answered that they ought to think themselves fortunate that their houses and lands were not taken from them, like the Italians, but only their gold, and of that no more than they had given to Cæsar's assassins; and that he even allowed them two years to pay the whole. As this tax only produced 40,000 talents, he doubled it, and required that it should be paid in two sums. "If you force us to pay the tribute twice in one year," a certain Hybreas dared

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4; Strabo, xiv. 148.

[2] Bronze statuette found at Pompeii in the *atrium* of the house which has retained his name. It is one of the most perfect works in the Museum of Naples.

to say to him, "give us two summers and two autumns. No doubt you have also the power to do so."[1]

He remembered those who had suffered for him, however. To the Rhodians he gave vast domains which they could not govern, and he exempted from taxation Tarsus, Laodicea of Syria, and Lycia, where Brutus had left so many ruins, and where

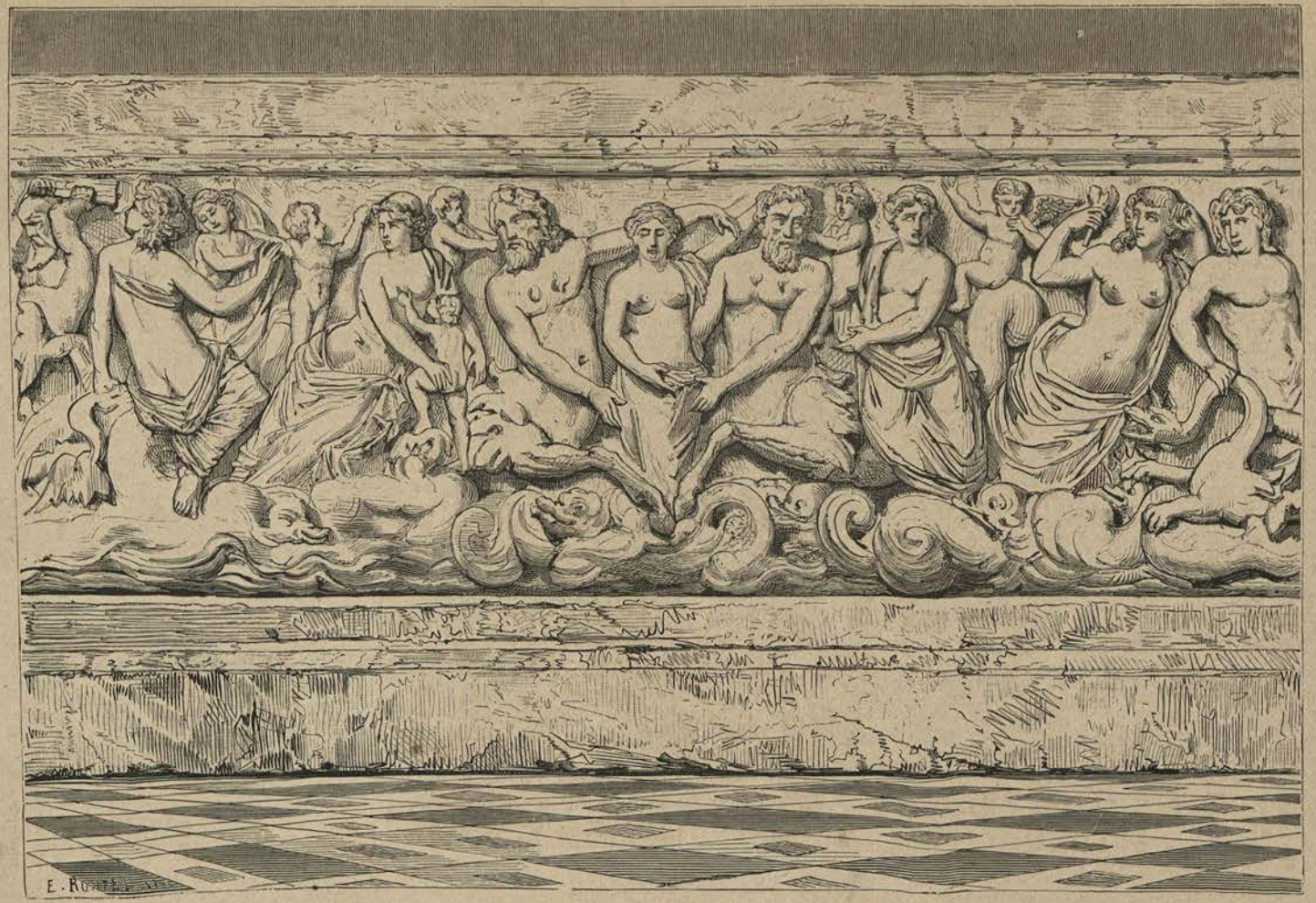
A town of Lycia.[2]

modern travellers have discovered the curious or magnificent remains of so many cities.

Terrified at the threats of Cassius, Cleopatra had provided him with some troops and money; Antony now called her to account for this conduct. She came to Tarsus to plead her cause,

[1] The passage in Plutarch (*Anton.*, 24) is not very clear. Appian (v. 4) says that he consented to receive the taxes for only nine years, to be paid in two, which is more easily understood.

[2] Tlos, one of the six great cities of Lycia. The engraving is made after Sir Ch. Fellows. (*Lycia, Caria*, etc., pl. 6.) The other five towns were Xanthos, Patara, Pinora, Olympus, and Myra. (See above, p. 468, and 470, the ruins of Xanthos and Patara.)



Venus surrounded by Nereids and Cupids (bas-relief in the Louvre).

or rather to try upon him the influence of her charms. Nothing in the range of female strategy was omitted to make the plot successful. She went up the Cydnus in a vessel, the poop of which was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver. The perfumes burnt on the vessel diffused their scent far along the banks. "It is Venus herself," cried the dazzled inhabitants; "She comes to meet Bacchus." Antony fell beneath the spell, and when he saw this elegant and cultivated woman, who spoke six languages, hold her own against him in his orgies, and in his soldier-talk, drink with him, swear with him, he forgot Rome, Fulvia, and the Parthians, and followed her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41 B.C.). Then began the excesses of the *inimitable life*, endless suppers, hunts, nocturnal adventures through the town to beat and insult people at the risk of being beaten in return.[1]

Whilst he was wasting precious time in these infamous debauches, his wife and brother in Italy were declaring war against Octavius.

On the 1st of January, 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius and Servilius Isauricus had taken possession of the consulship. Fulvia, an ambitious and violent woman, exercised over both of them an influence which left the government in her hands; the indolent Lepidus was completely set aside.[2] The arrival of the young Cæsar shook this royalty. He irritated Fulvia still more by sending home her daughter, whom he had married in the preceding year, merely to please the soldiers.

In the first place she demanded that the lands which he should give to the legions of Antony should be distributed by their general's brother, in order that Octavius might not have all their gratitude; to this he yielded. Then, as there arose against him a chorus of complaint about this division of land, she tried to profit thereby, as she needed disturbances in Italy in order to tear her husband away from Cleopatra.[3] The veterans claimed the

[1] Plut., *Anton.*, 26. At her instigation Antony caused her sister Arsinoë to be put to death at the altar of Diana of Miletus, and he allowed her to poison Ptolemy, her brother, and husband.

[2] Dion, lxviii. 4.

[3] Martial (xi. 21) speaks of some tenderer sentiments which Fulvia entertained for Octavius to which he made no response. Martial is very malicious of tongue, but Fulvia gave occasion for spiteful remarks. She had reached her third husband; the two first had been two famous tribunes, Clodius and Curio, and during her widowhood her grief had not been inconsolable.

eighteen cities which had been promised to them, and the inhabitants were enraged at the injustice which compelled them to pay for all Italy. In addition to this, the latter demanded an indemnity and the former money to cover the expenses of their establishment. Meanwhile the new colonists overstepped their boundaries, appropriated the neighbouring fields, and took all that they found to their liking. The dispossessed owners flocked into the city with their wives and children, crying piteously, and stirring up the people, who, being deprived of work by the disturbances, and of provisions by the cruisers of Sextus, insulted the soldiers, spoiled the houses of the wealthy, and would have no more magistrates, not even their own tribunes, that they might plunder more at their ease. Urged on by Fulvia, Lucius then interfered, promised his protection to the expropriated Italians, and assured the soldiers that if they had no land, or had not enough, his brother would be able to make them full amends with the tributes which he was levying for them in Asia.[1]

Lucius Antonius.

The Italians grew bolder in their opposition when they saw it was encouraged by a consul, and resolved to take up arms in defence of their fields; in many parts bloody conflicts ensued. The veterans on their side heaped recriminations upon Octavius for not keeping his promises, and reached such a point of insubordination that a revolt seemed imminent. One day at the theatre, one of them took his seat upon the bench set apart for the knights; the crowd murmured, and to appease the tumult Octavius sent him out. But after the show the soldiers crowded round the general with threats, accusing him of having put the man to death to please the crowd; the soldier was obliged to come and show himself to his comrades. They then exclaimed that he had been thrown into prison, and as he affirmed that nothing of the kind had taken place, they turned against him, calling him liar and traitor; they wished to make the military dress inviolable. On another occasion Octavius having kept them waiting for him at a review, they grew angry, and a tribune who undertook his defence was attacked; he succeeded in getting away, and plunged

[1] Dion, xl. 6, 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 12, *sq.*

into the Tiber to escape his pursuers; but he was dragged out again and killed, and his body was placed on the road by which Octavius arrived. He contented himself with mildly reproving them for this violence.

His situation was becoming critical. Everyone laid to his charge the ills they suffered, and even some of his veterans, won by the promises of Fulvia and Lucius, abandoned him. But the treasures which Fulvia was promising them, her husband was at that very time dissipating in mad prodigalities. Octavius sold the rest of the property of the proscribed, borrowed from the temples, and turning everything into money, brought back by largesses some of those who had left him. A master stroke completely set up his affairs again. He assembled the veterans in the Capitol, caused the conventions lately agreed upon with Marc Antony to be read to them, and declared his firm resolution to carry them out. "But Lucius," he added, "is working to upset the triumvirate, and will make everything uncertain again by a war, the authority of the leaders as well as the rewards due to the soldiers. As for me, ever ready to maintain concord, I willingly take the senate and the veterans as judges of my conduct." The veterans accepted this strange arbitration; they constituted themselves into a tribunal at Gabii, and invited the two opponents to present themselves before them. The young Cæsar hastened to appear there; Lucius Antonius, frightened perhaps at a possible ambush, did not come, and Fulvia, who at Præneste held reviews with a sword at her side, scoffed loudly at the *booted* senate. This scene none the less restored to Octavius the support of almost all the veterans. The Italians naturally threw themselves upon the opposite side, which appeared the most numerous. Lucius collected seventeen legions of recruits; Octavius had only ten, but they were seasoned soldiers, with Agrippa for general. Things seemed to go ill with him at first. Lucius got possession of Rome, which Lepidus should have defended, and gathering the people together, he told them that his brother renounced his triumviral authority; that he would canvass the consulship in the usual manner as soon as he had punished Lepidus and Octavius, and that thus the Republic and liberty would be re-established. It was the counterpart of the comedy played at Gabii, a play got up to win the

people, as it had there been to win the army. Lucius was naturally hailed as *imperator*, a title of which the soldiers were lavish, since in return their leader had to give them a *donativum*.

But Agrippa easily drove him out of Rome, and pressed him so hard that he compelled him to take refuge in the fortress of Perusia, where he shut him in with immense works of circumvallation. Antony's friends, Asinius Pollio, Calenus, and Ventidius, took very little part in this war, being uncertain whether the triumvir approved of it. Fulvia, who led help to her brother-in-law, could not force the besiegers' lines, and the garrison was decimated by a famine which became proverbial under the name of *fames Perusina*. Sling-bullets thrown during this siege and recovered in our own days have preserved the memory of it: "You are dying of hunger, and you hide it from me," said the one; to which a traitor replied, "We are without bread (*sine masa*)"[2] Antonius, compelled to give

Vulcan.[1] (See next page).

[1] Marble statue, which was at first erected in the town of Tarentum, according to the inscription cut on its base. (Montfaucon, *Suppl. I*, vol. i., pl. 30.) Vulcan was an old Italian deity, whom the Romans identified with the Hephæstos of the Greeks.

[2] In this war of Perusia, Asculum must have sided with Antony, for there has been found at the foot of its walls a sling-bullet with the name of Ventidius, a famous Asculan, one of Antony's partisans. Another fact unknown to historians is perhaps revealed by these singular monuments; one of them bears these words: *Q. Lab. Part. Mar. Vlt.*, that is, Q. Labienus Parthicus to Mars the Avenger. This Labienus, who was the master of Asia Minor, must

way to the cries of the soldiers, surrendered. In order to avoid giving Antony any pretext for war, Octavius contented himself with relegating Lucius to Spain, whither at the same time he sent a man of energy, D. Calvinus, who succeeded in keeping that province under his sway. He also spared the veterans found in Perusia, and enrolled them in his legions, but the magistrates of the city and some 300 knights or senators were slain, at the foot of an altar raised to Cæsar, on the ides of March in the year 40. To every entreaty addressed to him to spare one of them, Octavius replied with the words of Marius, "He must die." The town had been given up to pillage; a citizen set fire to and destroyed it, and threw himself into the flames.[1] In order to punish Juno, the presiding goddess of the city, who had so ill defended them, and whose image Octavius carried away to Rome, as though the goddess had been his accomplice, the inhabitants when they rebuilt their town, placed it under the protection of Vulcan; he had at least saved his temple from the flames.

The destruction of that ancient city was the last of the triumvir's acts of cruelty.[2] Fresh proscriptions were dreaded, however. Horace, who was as yet unattached, utters a cry of despair, and counsels the wise to flee to the Fortunate Isles to escape this iron age.[3] All Antony's friends got away, but without going so far; Pollio took refuge with a few troops upon the vessels of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who, while acting in concert with Sextus, had reserved to himself the free command of the fleet which had belonged to Brutus;[4] Antony's mother reached Sicily, where Sextus received her with honours; Tiberius Claudius

therefore, have sent aid to the foe of Cæsar's son. (Desjardins, *Les Balles de fronde*; see vol. ii. p. 570.)

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 15; *moriendum esse*, and Dion, xviii. 14; a doubtful fact, resting merely on reports; *scribunt quidam*, in Suetonius; λόγος ἔχει, in Dion. Appian (v. 48) only mentions a small number of executions. Nursia escaped with a fine, but so heavy a one that the inhabitants preferred to abandon their town and territory. (Dion, xlviii. 13; Cf. Vell. Paterc., ii. 74; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 49.)

[2] Senec., *de Clementia*, i. 11.

[3] Ode xvi. of the book of the *Epodes*, published after his death.

[4] This Domitius was the son of the Dom. Ahenobarbus slain at Pharsalia. Though it was not known for certain whether he had taken any part in the murder of the dictator, he had been proscribed by Pedius as a tyrannicide. He was the grandfather of Nero. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 55; Suet., *Nero*, 3.)

Nero, who had commanded an army corps in Campania, also sought refuge in the island; his wife, Livia Drusilla, and his son Tiberius, then two years old, were at that time fleeing from the man whom one of them was to marry and the other to succeed. As for Fulvia, she and her children, accompanied by Plancus, succeeded in reaching Greece. Octavius was thus left master of Italy and of the whole West, for the son of Calenus, who after his father's death had taken command of the legions in Gaul, yielded up that province to him, and Spain submitted to him. The incapable Lepidus claimed his share; he was sent into Africa with six legions of soldiers, who were either malcontents or too much attached to Antony. This struggle of one year's duration was called the war of Perusia (41—40.)

These sounds of war drown the memory of the calamities which had just befallen the peninsula, and which must be called to mind to give a full picture of those fearful times. Nothing in modern history can furnish an idea of the miseries and woes caused by this fresh expropriation of the rural population of Italy.[1] The first had taken place at the expense of the old Italiote races whom Sylla had despoiled in order to settle his 120,000 soldiers. The second, by a just retribution, dispossessed those who had profited by the first. The sons of the dictator's veterans gave place to the legionaries of the triumvirs. Virgil was thus driven from his little patrimony near Mantua; Horace, who after his flight from Philippi had repaired to Rome, had just lost the estates left him by his worthy father, the freedman of Venusia. Tibullus and Propertius suffered the same fate. Protected by Pollio and Gallus, who were charged with the division of lands in Cisalpine Gaul, and who had seen his early verses, Virgil twice obtained the restitution of his twice invaded fields. But all the dispossessed land-owners had not beautiful verses wherewith to redeem their property; the more fortunate remained as tenants upon the lands they had held as proprietors. Others begged or died by the way-side, or driven to go and people distant colonies, left behind

[1] The expression is from Appian. (*Ibid.*, v. 5.)

them in stranger hands the paternal home and the tomb of their forefathers:

Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva...
Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has segetes! [1]

The Ofellus of Horace is the portrait of many men of that time, but all were not able to say like him: "Meet adverse fortune with a manly heart:

Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus." [2]

For forty years past the right of property had ceased to exist in the peninsula—a consideration which would alone be sufficient to prove the necessity of the Empire.

IV.—Treatise of Brundisium (40) and of Misenum (39); Defeat of Sextus Pompey and Deposition of Lepidus (36).

Neither Fulvia's cries nor the report of this war had been able to divert Antony from his pleasures, or rather he had perceived that it was only a question of a cabal got up by the intrigues of his wife. A bold attack of the Parthians at length roused him. The harshness and exactions of the governor whom he had left in Syria had led to a revolt. The Parthians, summoned by the inhabitants, and led by a son of Labienus, who had taken refuge at the court of Ctesiphon, had invaded that province and broken into Asia Minor.[3] In the spring of the year 40 Antony repaired to Tyre, the only city of Phœnicia which they had not yet entered; letters from Fulvia which awaited him there, apprised him of the end of the war of Perusia and the flight of all his friends. It became necessary to make up for the effect produced by this check by reappearing with a considerable force upon the shores of Italy. Committing therefore to the able Ventidius

Q. Labienus Parthicus (Silver Coin).

[1] Virgil, *Bucol.*, i. 3 and 71–72. A little poem of 183 lines, the *Diræ*, sometimes attributed to Virgil; also contains imprecations against all who have despoiled the author of his domain.

[2] *Satiræ*, II. ii. 112–136.

[3] Labienus there conquered Decidius Saxa, and after that victory took the title of *imperator* and the surname of *Parthicus*.

the charge of holding ground against the Parthians, he set sail, with 200 vessels furnished by Cyprus and Rhodes, for Athens, where he found Fulvia. The interview between the pair was an exchange of bitter and well justified recriminations, upon the one side about the stay in Alexandria, upon the other about the foolish Perusian war. Meanwhile events were progressing rapidly in the West, where Octavius had taken possession of Gaul. It was necessary to put a speedy stop to this growing fortune; leaving Fulvia in Sicyon, ill with vexation and shame, Antony came to an arrangement with the Pompeian Domitius, who opened a passage for him across the Ionian sea, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Brundisium. At the same time he invited Sextus Pompey to attack Southern Italy; already Rhegium was blockaded, the Pompeian troops were arriving before Consentia, and Sardinia had gone over to the enemy.

Octavius appeared to be in serious danger, but he obtained fresh strength from this union against him of men who had but yesterday been fighting among themselves. Whilst the enemy's camp would contain a son of Pompey, a triumvir, and one of Cæsar's murderers, he was left the sole representative of the new principle round which so many interests had already gathered; and such is the advantage of clearly defined positions, even in political matters, that this great coalition was in reality little to be dreaded. The memory of the battles at Philippi was still too fresh in the minds of the veterans of the triumviral army for them to be willing to fight against one another. They compelled their leaders to treat, and Cocceius Nerva, a friend of both the triumvirs, brought about an arrangement; the conditions were drawn up by Pollio and Mecænas, and the death of Fulvia hastened its conclusion. Antony caused one of his wife's advisers, who had been the principal instigator of the war of Perusia, to be put to death; and as a proof of his desire to establish a real peace, he gave up to his colleague the letters of Salvidienus, a lieutenant of Octavius in Gallia Narbonensis, who offered to bring him his troops. Summoned to Rome upon some pretext, the traitor was

Coin of Rhegium.[1]

[1] PHΓINΩN; lyre. Reverse of a coin of Rhegium.

there put to death. A fresh partition of the Roman world gave Antony the East as far as the Adriatic, with the obligation to fight the Parthians; to Octavius the West and the war against Sextus; Scodra (Scutari) on the Illyrian coast, marked the common boundary. They left Africa to Lepidus, and agreed that when they did not wish to hold the consulships themselves they should

View of Sicyon.

give it to their friends in turn. Octavia, the sister of the young Cæsar, already left a widow by Marcellus, was married to the other triumvir.[1] She had just given birth to him who is perhaps the "predestined child" of Virgil's fourth eclogue, that Marcellus, "the glorious scion of Jupiter," whom the poet was to immortalize in the sixth book of the *Æneid* (40).[2]

Coin of Salvidienus.

Octavia (Coin).

[1] Plut., *Anton.*, 31. He calls Octavia *χρῆμα θανμαστὸν γυναικός*.

[2] Propertius (iii. 18) makes Marcellus die at the age of twenty, which would put his birth in 43, more than two years before the peace of Brundisium and Virgil's *Eclogue*; but Servius

The friends of peace hoped that this lady, who was respected by all the people and tenderly loved by her brother, would be able by her virtues to retain Antony and preserve harmony between the two masters of the Roman world (40).[1]

The triumvirs returned to Rome to celebrate this union. The feasts were sad, for the people wanted bread; Sextus, who had not been included in the treaty of Brundisium, continued to intercept trading vessels. Nothing came through, and the traders no longer dared leave the ports of Smyrna, Alexandria, Carthage, and Marseilles. Following the soldiers' example the multitude demanded peace with loud cries. An edict taxing landowners 50 sesterces for each of their slaves, confiscating to the treasury a portion of all inheritances caused fresh irritation. Abuse was heaped on the triumvirs, but the people could no longer make even a riot; veterans fell upon the multitude and put them to flight, leaving numbers of dead behind them.[2] Antony was the first to weary of these cries, and urged his colleague to treat with Pompey.

Octavia.[3]

(*ad Æn.*, vi. 862) gives him two years less; "He fell ill," says he, "in his sixteenth year, and died in his eighteenth." I am more disposed to accept the age given by the learned commentator than that given by the poet. It must be acknowledged however, that there are always great difficulties left on the subject of the "predestined child."

[1] In the same year the tribune Falcidius carried the law which bears his name and which remained famous under the Empire; it forbade a man to dispose of more than three-quarters of his property in legacies, and secured the remaining quarter, the *Falcidian Fourth*, to the heirs.

[2] App., *Bell civ.*, v. 68; Dion, xlviii. 19.

[3] Cameo in the possession of M. le Baron Roger, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 31.

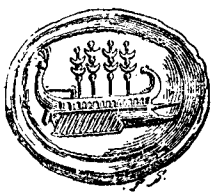
A few months previously Octavius had married the sister of Scribonius Libo, Sextus' father-in-law, in the hope that this alliance would open the way to an agreement. Libo did, in fact, intervene between his son-in-law and the triumvirs. Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompey, herself represented to her son that blood enough had been shed in this unhappy quarrel, and Sextus yielded.[1] They all three met on Cape Misenum, upon a dike constructed from the shore to the admiral's galley and cut through in the middle, so that the negotiators, on either side of an interval through which the sea flowed, could discuss questions without any fear of surprise. Pompey had his fleet behind him, the triumvirs their legions. The latter consented to allow him to return to Rome, but he demanded to be received into the triumvirate in the place of Lepidus; the conference was broken up. Urged on by his freedman Menas, he was about to return to Sicily and declare hostilities again, when Libo and Mucia induced him to consent to a second interview, at which the following conditions were agreed upon: "Sextus shall have Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Achæa as provinces, with an indemnity of 15,500,000[2] drachmæ. He shall have the right of canvassing the consulship though absent, and of discharging the functions of that office through one of his friends. The citizens who have taken refuge with him may return to Rome and resume their estates; those who have been put upon the lists of proscription shall only recover a quarter of their property; the murderers of Cæsar are excluded from the amnesty. The gratuities reserved for the triumvirs' soldiers shall be granted to his also; and slaves who have taken refuge with him shall have their freedom. On his side he shall clear the sea of pirates, withdraw his garrisons from the points occupied by them upon the coasts of Italy, and send the wheat which Sicily and Sardinia used to supply to Rome.[3] The treaty shall be confided to the guardianship of the Vestals."

[1] One of his principal officers, Murcus, urged him to treat. His freedman Menas, who commanded for him in Sardinia, tried hard to turn him from it by representing to him that he he must let famine do its work. He did not succeed in convincing him, but he made him suspicious of Murcus, whom Sextus put to death. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 77; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 70; Dion, xlviii. 19.)

[2] Dion, *ibid.*, 36.

[3] Plut., *Anton.*, 33; Dion, *ibid.*; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 72; Vell. Paterc., ii. 77.

When the three chiefs were seen to cross the narrow barrier which separated them, and embrace in token of peace and friendship, one shout of joy went up from fleet and army. It seemed as if this was the end of all their ills. Italy would no longer dread famine; the exiles and proscripti would return to their country. It was again announced to the troops that a marriage would cement the union; Pompey's daughter was affianced to the nephew of Octavius. Then the three chiefs feasted one another. The lot fell upon Pompey to entertain his new friends first. "Where shall we sup?" asked Antony gaily. "In my *carinæ*," answered Sextus, pointing to his galley, a cutting allusion to the fact that at Rome, Antony possessed the house of Pompey the Great in the quarter of the Carinæ.[2] In the middle of the feast Menas is said to have whispered in Sextus' ear: "Shall I cut the cables and make you master of the whole Empire?" He reflected an instant and then answered: "You should have done it without asking me; Pompey cannot betray his sworn faith." The anecdote is doubtful, like many of those related by the ancients. Before separating they drew up the list of consuls for the following years (39).



Vessel bearing Standards.[1]

The two treaties of peace of Brundisium and Misenum were only a truce in the eyes of those who had signed them; but for Italy, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, they marked the close of the bloody struggles. For three centuries and a half, with the exception of one day, that on which Vitellius died, Rome and the peninsula were torn by no more wars.

After the peace of Misenum, Octavius and Antony went to Rome for a short time to receive the testimonies of popular rejoicing. The one soon set out again to subdue a few Gallic tribes who had revolted; the other went to attack the Parthians. Antony took with him a senatus-consultum ratifying all his acts beforehand.[3] The senate might consider itself happy that one of

[1] From an engraved gem. (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*)

[2] Plut., *Anton.*, 33; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 73. Precautions similar to those employed at interviews between princes in the Middle Ages were taken for these feasts. Antony and Octavius repaired to them with arms concealed about them. (*Id., ibid.*)

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75.

its masters had asked for a decree; this vote proved its existence, which might have been doubted at the negotiations of Misenum, where no more attention had been paid to it than to Lepidus. The triumvirs did not forget it, however, for they created new senators daily; they were soldiers, barbarians, and even slaves; one of the latter obtained the prætorship.[1] It is true, indeed, that the number of prætors had been raised to seventy-seven. As for the people, they received written orders on the days of the comitia, and voted accordingly.

The treaty of Misenum was impossible to carry out. It was out of the question that Octavius should leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions, as well as the repose of Italy, at the mercy of Pompey, who on his side dreamt of obtaining the supreme power of Rome for himself. Meanwhile Sextus held a brilliant court at Syracuse; with a trident in his hand, and clad in a mantle of sea-blue, he caused himself to be styled son of Neptune, and he had some right to do so, since he had been the first to prove to the Romans, who refused to perceive it, what power the empire of the seas confers. But in the ten years which had elapsed since he left Rome, and during which he had lived as best he could, Pompey had acquired the habits of the leader of a band of adventurers rather than those of a general. Slaves and freedmen commanded his squadrons. If a free voice was raised among the Roman nobles who had taken refuge with him, he grew angry as though it had been insolence. The assassination of Murcus[2] had discouraged the most devoted, and many had seized the pretext of the peace of Misenum to abandon him. Personally brave, he did not know how to make use of victory, and we shall see how he let slip several favourable opportunities.

The first breaches of the treaty came from the triumvirs. To begin with, Antony refused to put Sextus in possession of Achæa, upon the pretext that the Peloponnesians owed him large sums which he wished to make them repay; then Octavius repudiated Scribonia in order to marry Livia, then six months advanced in

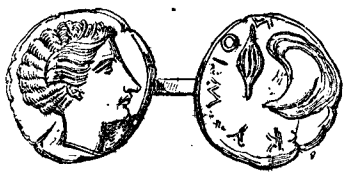
[1] His election caused such a scandal however, that the triumvirs, after having given him his freedom, caused him to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian Rock. (Dion, xlviii. 34.)

[2] Cf. p. 495, note 1.

pregnancy, whom he forced Tiberius Nero to give up to him. To these challenges Sextus replied by repairing his vessels and leaving the pirates free to cruise; the price of provisions very shortly increased in Italy (38).

Coin of Murcus.[1]

Octavius tried to carry his two colleagues with him; Lepidus agreed to join him, but spent all the summer in collecting troops and vessels. As for Antony, urged by his wife, he left Athens, where he had passed the winter, and went to Brundisium in search of the young Cæsar, and not finding him there, hastened back to Greece, begging him to keep the peace. The whole burden of the war thus fell upon Octavius. Fortunately he had negotiated for the treachery of the freedman Menas, who delivered Corsica, Sardinia, three legions and a strong squadron into his hands. He received him with marks of great esteem, raised him to the rank of knight, and gave him the command of his fleet, under the chief control of Calvisius Sabinus.[3]



Coin of Cumæ.[2]

Coin of Messina.[4]

At the very first encounter the freedman proved his devotion and his ability. He held his own against a Pompeian fleet in the gulf of Cumæ, and slew its leader, another freedman of Sextus, who was replaced by an ex-slave. Octavius tried to cross into Sicily; being attacked in the middle of the straits he would have left the victory to his enemies had not the approach of Menas obliged them to run back into Messina. The fight was scarcely over when a storm destroyed almost the whole of his fleet; but Sextus did not know how to profit by this advantage, and Agrippa was just arriving.

[1] MVRCVS IMP.: man clad in the toga stretching out his hand to a kneeling woman; in the background, a trophy. Silver coin of the Statian family, to which Murcus belonged.

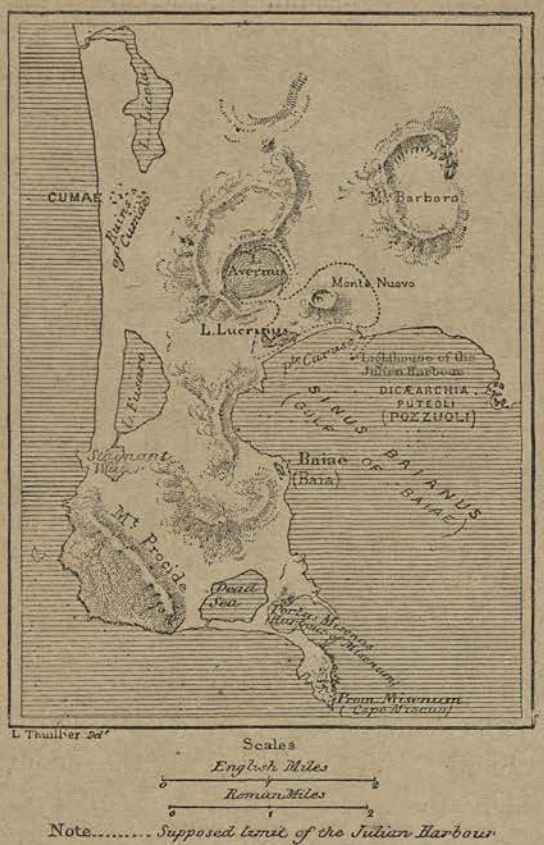
[2] Head of Apollo. On the reverse, KVMAION; a shell and an ear of barley. Coin of Cumæ.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 81–4. Appian gives Menas the name of Menodoros, which the ex-slave had perhaps assumed after his manumission. (Dion, xlviii. 46.)

[4] ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ; hare running right; beneath, a dolphin. (See in vol. i. p. 465, another specimen of the coins of Messina.)

This great man, who had just pacified Aquitania and crossed the Rhine like Cæsar, took in hand the conduct of the operations. Instead of striking his blows hastily, he wished to make them sure by leaving nothing to chance. Octavius had a good harbour in the Mare Superum, but none in the Tyrrhenian sea, which lay near Sicily. Agrippa created the Julian Harbour by connecting Lake Lucrinus with Lake Avernus, and both with the sea;[1] then he built a fleet, and by continual exercises he trained sailors and legionaries. In the spring of the following year (36) Octavia again brought back her husband to Tarentum, and as she did not find her brother there, she went to meet him and bring him towards that town with Mecænas and Agrippa. The interview took place upon the banks of the Bradanus, between Tarentum and Metapontum.[2] For several days the two triumvirs were seen walking about without guards, and lavishing upon each other the marks of a confidence which deceived neither themselves nor any one else. They deprived Sextus of the priesthood and the consulship, and prolonged their own triumviral authority for five years; Antyllus, a son of Antony and Fulvia, was affianced to the daughter of Octavius and Scribonia, the notorious Julia, and mutual presents

PLAN
OF THE
JULIAN HARBOUR.



Scales
English Miles
0 1 2
Roman Miles
0 1 2

Note..... Supposed limit of the Julian Harbour

[1] Dion, xlviii. 50; Strabo, v. 244. Agrippa had taken possession of the consulship on the 1st of January, 37. He cut down the gloomy forest which surrounded Lake Avernus, but the harbour was used for barely half a century.

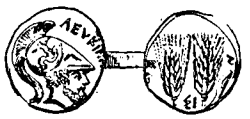
[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 93–4.

[3] The Monte Nuovo (see plan) has only been in existence since 1558. (See vol. i. p. xvii.)

seemed to seal this so oft renewed friendship; Antony gave his colleague 120 vessels in exchange for 20,000 legionaries, and set out for Syria.[1] They were never again to meet, save on the waves that wash the promontory of Actium.

Immediately after Antony's departure the war was resumed with great vigour. A powerful fleet sailed out of the new harbour made by Agrippa, and, according to custom, imposing religious ceremonies called down the divine protection upon it. During the sacrifice the army uttered pious acclamations.[4]

Coin of Tarentum.[2]



Coin of Metapontum.[3]

Agrippa advised that Sicily should be attacked at three points, by Lepidus, who was at length coming from Africa, at Lilybæum; by Statilius[5] Taurus, the commander of the galleys ceded by Antony, at the promontory of Pachynum, and by Octavius on the north coast.[6] The three fleets started at the same time; but that of

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 95.

[2] ΤΑΡΑΣ; head of a woman with diadem; round it, three dolphins.

[3] ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ; bearded head with helmet ornamented with the monster Scylla. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΙ and two heads of grain.

[4] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 97.

[5] In 1875 there was discovered in the grounds lying on the Esquiline between the ruins said to be those of the temple of *Minerva Medica* and the *porta Maggiore* a vast subterranean gallery, the walls of which are pierced with a great number of *loculi*, wherein were little urns of terra-cotta containing *le cineri della legione interminabile dei servi e dei liberti della gente Statilia*. This was the tomb of the Statilii Tauri and their *familia*, freedmen, and slaves. Along these walls there also runs a strip, fifteen inches in width, covered with the most beautiful paintings discovered for a long time on the soil of Rome. They relate the legend of Æneas, more than ever national to Rome since Cæsar's time, but differing in certain particulars from that which Virgil was about to consecrate. We give some of the best preserved portions which M. Fiorelli, the learned director of researches in the kingdom of Italy, has been kind enough to have copied for us from the originals. According to the commentary by M. Brizzio (*Pitture e sepolcri scoperti sull' Esquilino*) our first plate represents the death of Lausus, the son of Mezentius, who had come to attack Lavinium before the ramparts were completed. The Latins make a sortie, kill the son of the king of the Rutuli, and compel Mezentius to flee. The second plate takes us back to the first stories in the legend; Amata, queen of Laurentum, informs Turnus that he must give up Lavinia, his promised bride, who has just been promised to Æneas for a wife, and who with downcast head betrays the grief which this rupture causes her. On the right the Trojans are building Lavinium. The town, personified by a woman with a crown of towers upon her head, watches the workmen and incites them to work. The third plate shows Latinus seated on his *throne*, promising Æneas his daughter Lavinia, who approaches, followed by her maidens.

[6] Menas was no longer in the service of Octavius. After the interview of Tarentum he had returned to Sextus; a third piece of treachery brought him back shortly afterwards to Octavius, who received him, but gave him no command.

Massuero pinxt

Imp. Fraillery.

PAINTINGS FROM THE TOMB OF STATILIUS TAURUS

Octavius was overtaken in the narrow channel between Caprea and the Isle of the Sirens, by a violent storm, which swept over the Ionian sea and prevented Taurus leaving the harbour of Tarentum. Lepidus alone succeeded in landing, and laid siege to Lilybæum. Octavius sent Mecænas to Rome to prevent the disturbances which the report of this check might cause, and visited all the harbours where his vessels had taken refuge, in order promptly to repair the damages. Though he did not possess his uncle's

Julia, daughter of Octavius.

Isle of the Sirens.[1]

military genius, he had his perseverance. "I will manage to conquer in spite of Neptune," and to punish him he forbade his statue to be carried at the games in the circus. Sextus, on the contrary, confiding in the protection of the god whose colours and trident he bore, let the tempest do its work. He forgot that in

[1] From the *Æneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

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certain cases the best way to protect one's self is to attack, and instead of pursuing the remnants of Octavius' fleet, or attempting descents upon Italy which the general discontent would have favoured, he concentrated his fleet at Messina, as though the once dreaded ocean monsters, Charybdis and Scylla, would defend the entrance of the Straits for him.

Coin of Sextus Pompey.[1]

In a month Octavius got his fleet into order again. Sextus had fortified Lipara, the most important of the Æolian islands, and an excellent naval station, in order to protect the approaches to the straits of Messina, and to cover the northern shores of Sicily. Agrippa seized it; and at the same time Octavius, on the other side of the straits, threw three legions into Sicily near Tauromenium. A check sustained by the fleet of Lepidus was compensated by a naval victory won by Agrippa in sight of Mylæ, but a fresh defeat met by Octavius on the east coast drove him back into Italy.

Lepidus, High Pontiff.[2]

Agrippa with the Rostral Crown.[3]

He had passed through the greatest dangers, having wandered about a whole night in a boat, without a guard, without any attendant. This general, who was always ill or unfortunate on days of battle, nevertheless retained the confidence of his soldiers; Cæsar's shadow protected him.

The legions which he had left before Tauromenium under the command of Cornificius, were exposed to the greatest dangers;

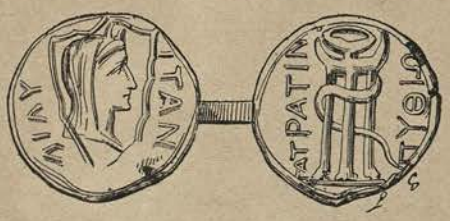
[1] MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER.; the lighthouse of Messina surmounted by a statue of Neptune; in the foreground, a vessel with a Roman eagle and an *acrostolium*. On the reverse, PRÆF. ORE MARIT. ET CLAS. S. C., surrounding the monster Scylla. Silver coin of Sextus Pompey. See (vol. i. p. cxi.) another representation of the monster with the girdle of "barking dogs." The promontory of Scylla, at the entrance of the Straits of Messina, does not deserve the sinister reputation given it by the ancients. The waves break and "bark" there as they do on every headland that stretches far into the sea. Charybdis, to the south of Cape di Faro and some distance from the Sicilian coast, was far more dangerous to the undecked boats of the Greeks. It is a whirlpool formed by the meeting of contrary currents. Captain Smith saw seventy-four-gun ships drawn out of their course by it. [Before the many earthquakes which occurred there in the Middle Ages both were probably more dangerous.—*Ed.*]

[2] LEPIDVS PONT. MX. III. V. R. P. C. From a silver coin. (Cohen, *Méd. cons. Æmil.*, pl. ii., No. 18.)

[3] M. AGRIPPA COS. TER. COSSVS LENTVLVS; head of Agrippa with the rostral and mural crown.

The Modern Scylla (Engraving from the *Bibliothèque nationale*). See note on last page.

Pompey cut off their supplies by sea, and on the land his cavalry surrounded the camp. Cornificius decided upon beating a retreat by impracticable roads where the still burning lava-streams of Ætna had dried up the springs. He was anxious to reach the northern coast, where Agrippa, after his victory, had occupied several points; he carried out this difficult movement with a firmness which gained him great honour, and afterwards obtained for him the privilege of being borne home in a curule chair every time he supped out.[1]



Coin of Lilybæum.[2]

At the moment when he effected a junction with the three legions sent to meet him, Agrippa obtained possession of Tyndaris, an excellent position, whence he could lend a hand on one side to Lepidus, who had at length subdued Lilybæum, and on the other threaten Messina. The end was approaching; once more Octavius bore down upon Sicily with the remainder of his troops, this time gathered into a mass of twenty-one legions, 20,000 horse, and 5,000 archers and slingers, who assembled between Mylæ and Tyndaris, where Lepidus had arrived. Pompey held in force the north east corner of Sicily, from Mylæ to Tauromenium, with Messina as his head-quarters, and he had fortified all the defiles which gave access into this immense entrenched camp. A movement of Agrippa having led him to believe that the Cæsarian fleet was making for Cape Pelorus, he abandoned his posts on the west, which Octavius immediately seized, and the triumvirs were able to commence their movement upon Messina. Threatened in his lair by two formidable armies, Pompey refused battle on land. But it was needful for him speedily to strike some decisive blow, for he was short of money and provisions; he decided to try his fortune on the element which had hitherto protected him.

Each fleet counted 300 sail; the shock took place between

[1] Dion (xlix. 7) says ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, an expression which might apply to the curule chair, which was incrusted with ivory.

[2] ΑΙΑΥ(βα)ΙΤΑΝ; woman's head veiled. On the reverse, ΠΥΘΙΩν ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝ, the names of two magistrates; serpent coiled round a tripod. Bronze coin of Lilybæum. For another, see vol. i. p. 460.

Mylæ and Naulochus, in sight of the two armies drawn up in battle array upon the shore (3rd of September, 36 B.C.). The action was very fierce, and the victory long remained undecided. Agrippa, like the first consul who conquered the Carthaginians on the sea, had armed his vessels with harpoons, to hold on to the enemy's ships, which were swifter than his own, and compel them to receive his boarders.[1] When Sextus saw victory inclining to the side of the Octavians, he extinguished the signal-light of his admiral's galley, threw his ring and the insignia of command into the sea, and took flight with seventeen vessels. Messina was in a state to sustain a long siege, and he still had two armies in the island, one near Lilybæum and the other towards Naulochus; but he left them in disorder. Like a true pirate chief, he landed for a short time on the coast of Bruttium to plunder the temple of Lacinian Juno, and thence set sail towards Asia,[3] thinking to claim from Antony the price of the services he had rendered the triumvir's mother in the war of

Sextus Pompey.[2]

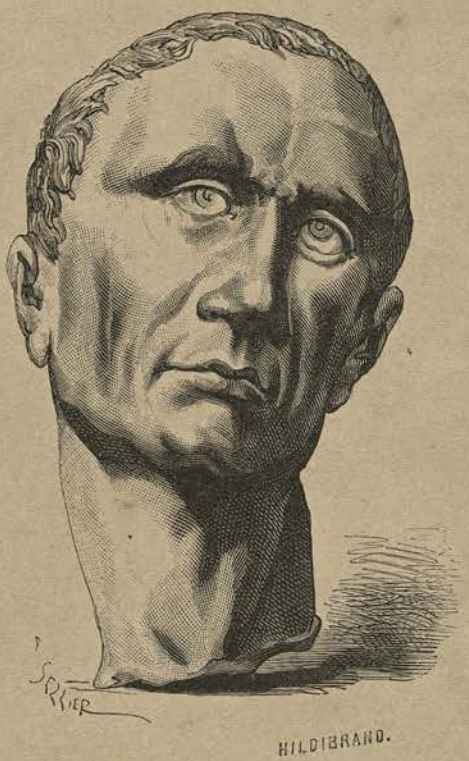
[1] The *harpon* of Agrippa was a piece of wood, five cubits (seven feet, six inches) long, strengthened with iron bands and terminated at each end with a ring, one of which bore a strong iron hook and the other cords, by means of which a machine drew back the harpon when, thrown by a catapult, it had caught hold of one of the enemy's ships. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 118.)

[2] Statue of Parian marble, found not far from Tusculum, and signed by Ophelion, son of Aristonidas. (Louvre Museum, No. 150 in the Clarac Catalogue.)

[3] Dion, xlix. 18.

Messina (From a Print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

Perusia. At Lesbos he heard of the unfortunate issue of the expedition against the Parthians, and thought the opportunity was a favourable one for rebuilding his fortunes at the expense of that of the wavering master of Asia. He easily took several cities, but some negotiations which he opened with the kings of Pontus and the Parthians, made his last friends abandon him. Even his father-in-law Scribonius Libo left him; being some time afterwards forced to give himself up, he was put to death at Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35).[1]



The Triumvir, Lepidus.[2]

The eight legions which he had deserted had assembled in Messina to which Lepidus laid siege. They demanded the triumvir, as a reward for going over to his standards, to grant their soldiers, like his own, the plundering of the town which had given them refuge. Notwithstanding Agrippa's opposition, Lepidus consented, and for a whole night the unhappy city was given over to be sacked and pillaged by its defenders and its foes. Lepidus then found himself at the head of twenty legions. He persuaded himself that with such a force it would be easy for him to take a higher position than had been accorded him since the commencement of the triumvirate. In a conference with Octavius he spoke haughtily, and claimed the addition of Sicily to his government; Octavius reproached him with his calculated delays and his secret negotiations with Sextus, and they parted, both disposed to begin another civil war. Octavius knew how little affection the troops

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 134–144, and Strabo, iii. 141. Dion makes him die at Midea, in Phrygia.

[2] Bronze bust found at Montmartre in 1787, in the ruins of an ancient foundry. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3120 in the Catalogue.)

had for his rival; he dared to appear in their camp without arms and without guards; he was already haranguing them when Lepidus, hastening up with a few devoted soldiers, drove him away with arrows. But their fidelity was shaken, several legions went and ranged themselves under the standard of Octavius when he approached with his army, and Lepidus barely escaped being killed in opposing the desertion which was becoming general. He was obliged to go and throw himself at the feet of his former colleague and ask that his life might be spared. Octavius was strong enough not to be cruel; he banished him to Circeii, leaving him his estates and his dignity of high pontiff. There Lepidus lived for twenty-three years. "He was," says Montesquieu, "the worst citizen in the Republic, and one is well pleased to see his humiliation. He lacked firmness and talent, and he was wholly indebted to circumstances for the important position to which fortune seems to have raised him for a time only to make his fall more signal."

CHAPTER LXI.

DUUMVIRATE OF OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (36-30).

I.—Wise Administration of Octavius; Reverses and Follies of Antony in the East (36—33).

THE problem of the future destiny of the Republic was becoming simpler. But lately there had been factions—the people, the senate, the nobles, and sets of ambitious men, great or small. Above this chaos of intrigue three men had raised themselves, then two, then one only. When he was dead anarchy reappeared, and again three men had seized the power in order to commence once more the same abortive experience. Now there remained but two, as there had been seventeen years before. But how much monarchical ideas had progressed! At the time of Cæsar's and Pompey's triumvirate, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero still lived. Now those noble hearts were cold, the people and the senate had abdicated for ever, one might even say without regret. Antony was master in the East, Octavius in the West, and they were reigning together till one of them should gain all.

Antony.[1]

Reverse.

Since the deposition of Lepidus, Octavius had forty-five legions, 25,000 horse, nearly 40,000 light troops, and 600 vessels carried his flag.[2] But for revolutionary commanders the morrow of the

[1] M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony, bare, facing right. On the reverse, L. MVSSIDIVS T. F. LONGVS. III. VIR. A. P. F. (*auro publico feriundo*); Mars with helmet, standing with his foot upon a shield, and holding a spear and the *parazonium*. Gold coin. A souvenir of Antony's victories in the East, which another of his coins typifies by a genius of the East with wings and aureole, having one foot on a globe, but announcing by the caduceus and cornucopia which he bears the prosperity that these victories were to secure.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 127.

victory is more to be feared than the day of combat. The soldiers, knowing their power, imperiously demanded the same rewards as after the battle of Philippi. He promised them crowns and arms of honour; to their tribunes, to their centurions he would give the *toga prætexta*; he would make them senators of their towns. "All these fine things are playthings for children," answered the tribune Ofilius; "a soldier wants money and lands." Octavius did not seem offended by this freedom, but the tribune disappeared the following night."[1] For the rest he distributed 20,000 discharges and bounties, for which Sicily alone furnished 1,600 talents; each soldier received 500 drachmæ. After having regulated the administration of Sicily and sent Statilius Taurus to Africa to take possession of that province, he returned to Rome; the senate received him at the gates of the city; the people, who saw the return of plenty, accompanied him crowned with flowers to the Capitol. They would have loaded him with honours. Beginning already to play his part of disinterestedness and modesty, he would only accept the tribunitian inviolability, the ovation, and a statue of gold.[2] They also proposed to raise him to the dignity of high pontiff, to be taken from Lepidus; he refused, so as not to break the law which declared this office to be for life.

Cæsar had lost himself by proclaiming aloud his scorn of those political hypocrisies which lend a kind of life to the dead. Octavius accepted the yet popular falsehood that the Republic still existed. The second triumvirate had become, by virtue of a plebiscitum, a legal magistracy, thus differing from the first, which had only been a secret association of three powerful men. Octavius showed himself the scrupulous observer of this legality. Before re-entering the city, outside the pomœrium (for an *imperator* could not harangue in the Forum) he had read a speech in which he accounted to the people for all his acts, and he caused copies of it to be distributed. Therein he appealed to necessity as an excuse for the proscriptions; he promised peace and clemency for the future, and in proof of this new moderation he caused the letters written to Sextus Pompey by several great people to be publicly burned. In order to show that only the necessities of

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 128.

[2] *Id., ibid.*, 130; Dion, xlix. 13–15.

war and not a spirit of rapine had obliged him to raise so much money, he abolished several taxes and caused the arrears owed to the treasury by the State debtors and by the publicans to be remitted.[1] Finally he declared he would abdicate as soon as Antony should have finished the war against the Parthians. Meanwhile he restored to the urban magistrates their former powers, and in order that none might doubt the sincerity of his promises, he would have at the foot of his statue no other inscription than this; "For having, after long troubles, restored peace on land and sea."

And this was true, for his energetic administration put everything in the peninsula in order. Sabinus expelled the robbers; the slaves who had escaped under cover of the disorders were seized and restored to their masters, or when not claimed, were put to death; several cohorts of watchmen which he organized pursued the malefactors in Rome, and in less than a year the security so long lost was restored in the city and in country places.[3] At last Rome was being governed. Instead of magistrates using their offices only in the interest of their own ambition and their own fortune, it had now a vigilant administration, occupying itself with the welfare and safety of its inhabitants. Thus the towns of Italy, saved from famine by his victory and restored to repose, blessed this beneficent authority; some had already placed the image of Octavius among the statues of their tutelary gods.

Antonius and Octavia.[2]

After the treaty of Brundisium, Antony had remained at Athens with Octavia in the midst of festivities, watching at once over events in Italy and over affairs in the East. The Parthians were little formidable outside their immense plains. On the irregular soil of Syria and of Asia Minor their cavalry had not been able to stand against the Roman infantry, and Antony's lieutenants had everywhere gained brilliant advantages. Sosius had driven them from Syria; Canidius, conqueror of the Armenians

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 130; Dion, xlix. 15.

[2] M. ANTONIVS M. F. M. N. AVGVR. IMP. TER., with head of M. Antony. On the reverse of another of Antony's coins is the head of Octavia, with the inscription, COS. DESIGN. ITER. ET TER. III. VIR. R. P. C. Antony was consul-elect in 35, the third year of the renewed triumvirate.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 132.

and of the people of Albania and Iberia, their allies, had carried his ensigns to the foot of the Caucasus. But the greatest successes fell to Ventidius, that Asculan who, in the Social war, had been led captive behind the triumphal chariot of the father of Pompey the Great. In Cilicia he had beaten the Parthians and Labienus, who was killed in his flight. A fresh Parthian army had met with the same fate; Pacorus, its commander, was also left on the battle-field, and the Parthians had been driven beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Ventidius however, had not dared to pursue them, fearing perhaps to excite the jealousy of his chief; but in order to close against them the road to Asia Minor, he had stayed to besiege the fortress of Samosata, in Commagene, where Antiochus the king had given free passage to the Parthians.[1]

In honour of these successes Antony gave magnificent games in Athens, where he appeared with all the attributes of Hercules. The Athenians, who had already exhausted all kinds of adulation, could find during these fêtes but one other new flattery, that of offering him the hand of Athene, their protectress. He accepted, demanding 1,000 talents as the marriage portion of the goddess. "When thy father, the mighty Zeus, espoused thy mother Semele, he did not demand that she should bring him an inheritance," said the poor people who had fallen into the trap. "Zeus was rich, I am poor," answered the triumvir. Roused however, by the victories of his lieutenants, Antony showed himself for a while in Asia, at the siege of Samosata, the conduct of which he took from Ventidius, sending him to triumph at Rome. On his arrival Antiochus had offered him 1,000 talents as ransom for the town; the triumvir was glad to get 300 for taking his departure. He again returned to Athens, leaving Sosius in Syria.[3]

Coin of Samosata.[2]

Antiochus of Commagene.[4]

This general had much ado among the Jews. The cause of all the troubles in this little kingdom was the minister

[1] Dion, xlix. 19–21.

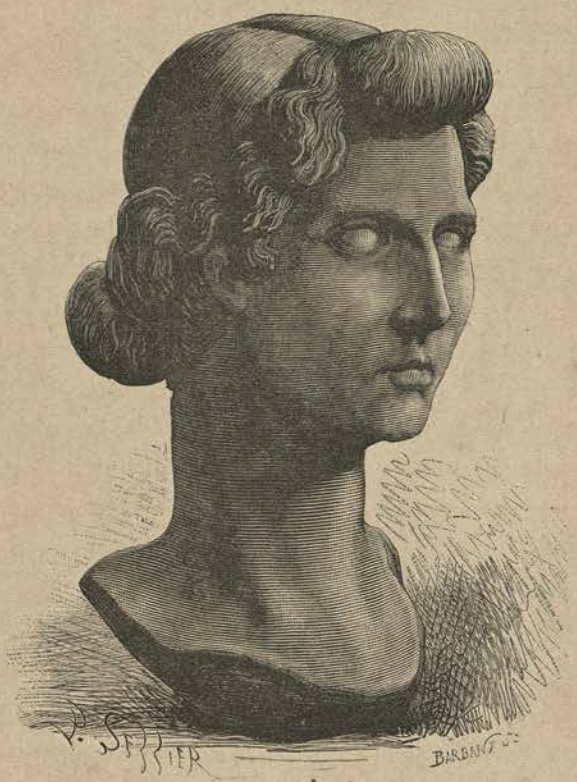
[2] ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤ; lion passant.

[3] Plut., *Anton.*, 35.

[4] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙ. (the great king Antiochus Epiphanes); head of Antiochus IV., king of Commagene, with diadem.

of Hyrcanus, the Idumæan Antipater. Nominated procurator of Judæa by Cæsar and supported by his son Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, he had conceived the project of taking the throne away from the family of the Maccabees. The Parthians expelled him and replaced the feeble Hyrcanus by his nephew Antigonus, but Herod taking refuge at Rome, there gained the favour of Antony, who caused him to be recognized by the senate as king of the Jews in order to oppose him to the nominee of the Parthians.

Sosius, ordered to support the new king, took Jerusalem by assault, and the last representative of the heroic family of the Maccabees was carried to Antioch, there to be beaten with rods and beheaded. Herod took unopposed possession of the throne, whereon he thought to establish himself by marrying Mariamne, the heiress of the dynasty which had just come to an end [1] (37).



Octavia.[2]

On quitting Tarentum and Italy for the last time (36), Antony had left Octavia and her children there. He had finally decided to conduct the war against the Parthians himself. But hardly had he touched the soil of Asia when his passion for Cleopatra awoke more madly than ever. He sent for her to Laodicea, acknowledged the children he had had by her, Alexander and Cleopatra, and gave the title of king of kings to the former, as if he reserved for his heritage the kingdoms he was about to conquer. The enemies of

[1] Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 8, 15; Dion, xlix. 22; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75; Tac., *Hist.*, v. 9.

[2] Bronze bust found at Lyons and preserved in the Louvre Museum. (Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiq.*, etc., No. 639.)

Rome were not to bear alone the cost of his generosity. Cleopatra, faithful to the unchanging policy of all the intelligent rulers of Egypt, obtained the addition to her kingdom of what the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, the Arabs and the Mamelukes, Bonaparte and Mehemet Ali, have always coveted, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyprus, with a part of Judæa and Arabia, and the whole of Cilicia Trachea, which furnished the cedars of Taurus used for the navy, that is to say, nearly all the coast from the Nile to Asia Minor.[1] These countries were for the most part Roman provinces. But was there still a Rome, a senate, laws, anything beside the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir?

Antony had then thirty legions, representing an effective force of 60,000 men, 10,000 horsemen, and 30,000 auxiliaries, furnished principally by the Armenian Artavasdes, the enemy of another Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene. Asia trembled at the news of these preparations.[2] As far as Bactriana, as far as India, men spoke of the immense army of western warriors; moreover, division prevailed amongst its enemies. A new revolution had stained the throne of Ctesiphon with blood. At the news of the death of his son Pacorus, Orodes had fallen into profound despondency, and had chosen Phraates as his successor. The latter, impatient to reign, had killed his father and all his brothers. Several nobles threatened by him had fled, and Antony, renewing in favour of the most important of them, Monæses, the generosity of Artaxerxes to Themistocles, had given him three towns for his maintenance.

From Mount Ararat, the culminating point of Armenia, there descend two mountain chains which surround the immense basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The one covers Syria and Palestine with its heights, the other, Media, Susiana, and Persia. From the first juts northward the Taurus, which stretches away to the extremity of Asia Minor; from the second, the mountains which form on the east the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. To reach Ctesiphon, situated on the Tigris, there were then two roads; the shorter one led across the arid plains of Mesopotamia and was

[1] Strabo, xiv. 669 and 677; Plut., *Anton.*, 37; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 4; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 9; Dion, xlix. 32.

[2] Plut., *Anton.*, 39.

taken by Crassus; the other and longer one, by the mountains of Armenia and Media Atropatene, passed round those burning solitudes and led the Roman infantry over ground favourable to its tactics towards Ecbatana and Ctesiphon, in the very heart of the Empire. This was the one chosen by Antony. The season was already too far advanced when he began the campaign; he should have taken up his winter quarters in Armenia and there given his troops a rest, wearied as

Marc Antony and Cleopatra.[1]

Orodes (Arsaces XIV.).

Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.).[2]

they were with a march of 8,000 stadia, and in the first days of spring, before the Parthians had left their quarters, he would have made an easy conquest of Media; but urged by the desire to rejoin Cleopatra, he continued to advance in order to end the war quickly.

Three hundred chariots carried all his engines, among which was a ram eighty feet long. Impeded by this clumsy apparatus, Antony decided to leave it behind him under escort of one division, and went as far as Phrahata, a short distance from the Caspian Sea. Finding all his attacks on this place miscarry, he recognized the mistake he had made in abandoning his engines, still more so

[1] Silver coin, with heads of Marc Antony and Cleopatra. (Millin, *Gal. Mythol.*, pl. clxxviii. *bis*, fig. 672.)

[2] From two coins in the *Cabinet de France*.

when he heard that Phraates had surprised the body of troops which guarded them, had killed 10,000 men, and burnt the convoy. Discouraged by this check Artavasdes retired with his Armenians. In order to raise the courage of his troops, Antony, with ten legions, went to seek the enemy, met them a day's journey from his camp, put them to flight, and pursued them for some time. But when the legionaries, returning to the battlefield, found but thirty slain, this victory, which at first they had thought so great, seemed hardly a skirmish, and comparing the result with the effort it had cost, they became discouraged. Indeed, on the morrow they saw the enemy reappear again as bold and as insulting as ever. During this affair a sally of the besieged had carried dismay into the Roman camp; the three legions left in the lines had fled; on his return Antony caused them to be decimated.

Winter approached; if it was dreaded by the Romans, who already fell short of provisions, Phraates was afraid of being unable to keep his Parthians in tents during the cold weather. He made overtures which Antony eagerly accepted; the legions were to raise the siege, and the king engaged not to disturb their retreat. For two days the march was quiet; on the third the Parthians attacked them in what they thought a favourable place. But a Marsian who had been their prisoner for a long time had warned the triumvir; his troops were in battle array and the enemy was repulsed. The four following days were like the two first; on the seventh the enemy showed themselves again. The legions formed a square, and the light troops disposed on the wings and as rearguard kept the enemy at a distance. Unfortunately the tribune Gallus, after having repulsed the enemy several times, stubbornly held a position where he was surrounded; 3,000 men had already perished when they were able to relieve him. From that time the Parthians, emboldened by success, each morning renewed their attack, and the army could only advance by fighting. In danger, Antony recovered the qualities which had formerly gained him the love of the troops; brave and indefatigable, he encouraged his men during the action by his example, and in the evening went among the tents lavishing help and comforts on the wounded. "Oh, retreat of the Ten Thousand!" cried he more than once, thinking with admiration of the courage and success of

the companions of Xenophon. At last, at the end of twenty-seven days' march, during which they had engaged in eighteen actions, the Romans reached the frontiers of Armenia, on the banks of the Araxes, the shore of which they kissed devoutly, as the sailor escaped from the storm embraces the land upon which the tempest has thrown him.[1] Their road from Phrahata was marked by the corpses of 24,000 legionaries!

If the king of Armenia had not so soon left the Roman camp the retreat would have been less disastrous on account of his 6,000 horsemen. Antony however, did not reproach him and postponed his vengeance lest he might delay his return to Cleopatra. In spite of a rigorous winter and continual snows he hastened his march and lost 8,000 men more. He at last reached the coast of Syria, between Berytus and Sidon, where Cleopatra joined him with clothing, provisions, and presents for the officers and soldiers. An occasion offered for him to repair his defeat; Phraates and the king of the Medes quarrelled over the spoils, and the Mede offered to join the Romans for a new campaign with all his forces. Cleopatra prevented her lover from answering this call to honour, and carried him in her train to Alexandria.

Coin of Berytus.[2]

In spite of this disastrous retreat, which contrasted with the successes obtained in the same year by his colleague, Antony sent messengers of victory to Rome; but Octavius took care that the truth should be known, though in public he spoke only with praise of the army in the East, in whose honour he decreed feasts and sacrifices.[3] At the games celebrated the following year on the death of Sextus, he wished Antony's chariot to appear with triumphal pomp, and he caused his statue to be placed in the temple of Concord as a sign of the cordial understanding which existed between them. This was characteristic of the man who always had in his mouth the proverb, *Hasten leisurely*, and this other, *You are in time enough if you arrive.*

Coin of Sidon.[4]

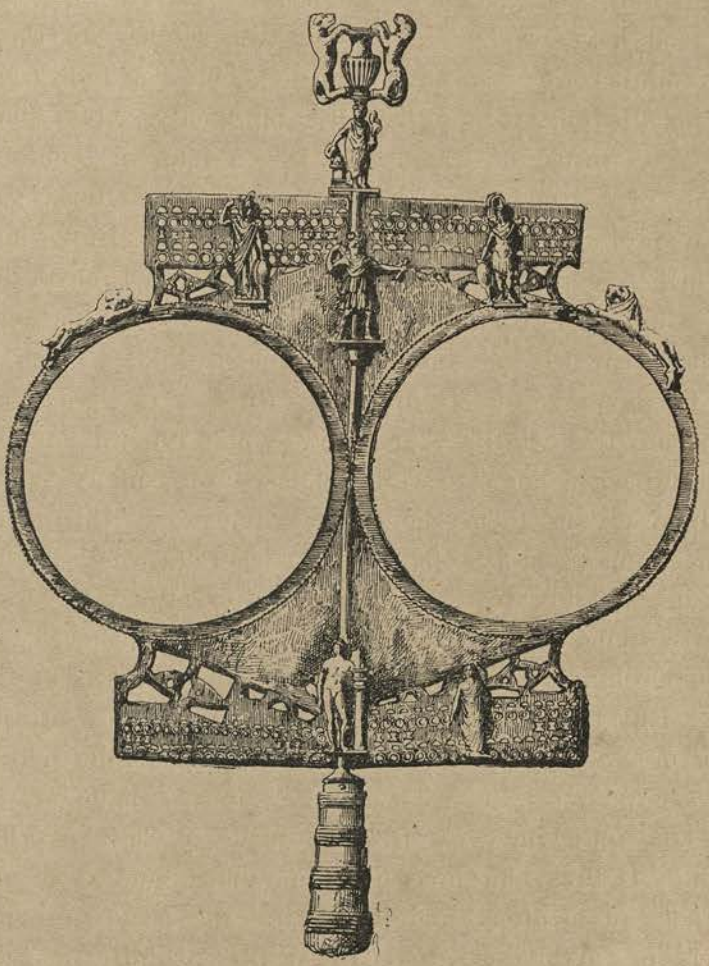
[1] Plut., *Anton*, 49.

[2] Head of the city, turreted.

[3] Dion, xlix. 32.

[4] A ship with the inscription, ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΥΑΡ.

Octavia did not enter into these selfish calculations; on the contrary, she tried to save her husband from the fatal influence[1] which was leading him to ruin, and asked permission of her brother to leave Rome to rejoin Antony. He granted it, wishing to the last to temporize, or in the secret hope that an affront



Bronze Standard found at Athens.[2]

offered to his sister would furnish him with a pretext for war and deprive his rival of what popularity he still possessed. Antony had then returned to Syria, where he was making preparations for

[1] Horace said of Cleopatra; *Fatale monstrum.* (*Od.*, I. xxxvii. 22.)

[2] Lebas and Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 109. In the two frames were set portraits of the emperors.

a new expedition, apparently directed against the Parthians, but in reality against the king of Armenia. He learnt there that his wife had already arrived at Athens, and as Octavius had anticipated, he ordered her not to come any further.

She easily guessed the motives for this offensive messsage, but replied only by asking where he wished her to send what she would herself have brought him. This was clothes for the soldiers, a great number of beasts of burden, money, and considerable presents for his officers and friends, and finally, 2,000 picked men with as fine arms as those of the Prætorian cohorts. The manœuvres of Cleopatra rendered these noble efforts vain; she affected a profound despair and a disgust for life which made Antony fear a desperate resolution; he dared not break his chain, and she would not allow him to make the expedition against the Medes that year lest he should escape her (35).

On Octavia's return to Rome her brother ordered her to leave the house of this worthless husband. She refused, and continued to bring up with her own children those of Antony and Fulvia, giving them the same care, nearly the same affection. And if some friend of her husband's arrived in the city to canvass an office or attend to some particular business, she received him at her house and obtained from her brother the solicited favours. But this conduct defeated her aim. The contrast between such virtue and such injustice increased the public hatred against Antony.

Armenian Captive.[1]

In the following year (34) he made a short expedition into Armenia. Dellius had preceded him, under pretext of demanding for a son of Antony and Cleopatra the hand of one of the daughters of Artavasdes, but in reality to lull the vigilance of that prince. Antony penetrated as far as Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, and invited the king to come and act with him in the expedition against the Parthians. In spite of all these assurances Artavasdes feared some treachery; hearing however, that the triumvir was marching upon Artaxata, he hoped to appease the storm by accepting the invitation; he was seized, loaded with

[1] ARMENIA CAPTA; Victory taming a bull. Gold coin. (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, i. pl. 48, No. 46.)

golden chains, and dragged to Alexandria, which Antony entered in triumph.[1] All that remained of art-treasures still left in Asia by the proconsuls went to decorate the new capital of the East; all the library of Pergamon, consisting of 200,000 volumes, was carried thither.

Ptolemy Cæsarion.[2]

Rome was offended at this infringement of her rights, but the triumvir had forgotten that he was a Roman. Shortly after this he caused two golden thrones to be erected on a silver tribunal, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. He declared her queen of Egypt and Cyprus, associated Cæsarion with her, and bestowed the title of king upon Alexander and Ptolemy, the two sons whom he had had by her; to the former he gave, together with Armenia, Media and the kingdom of the Parthians, which he already regarded as his conquest; to the second, Syria and Cilicia, with Phœnicia; he assigned as a marriage portion to their sister Cleopatra, the future wife of Juba II., Libya bordering on Cyrenaïca. Then he presented the two princes to the people, Alexander wearing the Median robe and the tiara, Ptolemy clad in the long mantle and bearing the diadem of the successors of Alexander.

Cleopatra Selene, Daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.[3]

Juba II., King of Mauretania, Husband of Cleopatra Selene.[3]

Henceforth the new-made kings only appeared in public surrounded by a guard of Asiatics or Macedonians. Antony himself laid aside the toga for a purple robe, and he was seen crowned like eastern monarchs with a diadem, bearing a golden sceptre, and with a scimitar at his side, or else, accompanied by Cleopatra, passing through the streets of Alexandria.

[1] Dion, xlix. 39–40.

[2] From a bas-relief in the temple of Denderah. (Rosellini, *op. cit.*)

[3] Visconti, *Iconog. grecq.*, iii. pl. 55.

now in the costume of Osiris, more often as Bacchus, drawn in a chariot decked with garlands, with cothurni on his feet, a crown of gold upon his head, and the thyrsus in his hand. He had made his legionaries attendants and guards of the queen; their shields bore her monogram,[1] and on the coins was seen the double image of Antony and Cleopatra. How pressing the need of a master when this madman could find 100,000 men still ready to fight to win empire for him!

Agrippa.

Cleopatra.[2]

One day however, he remembered Rome, and was not ashamed to demand of the senate the confirmation of all his acts. The consuls in office, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius, dared not, though they were his friends, read his mad despatches aloud.

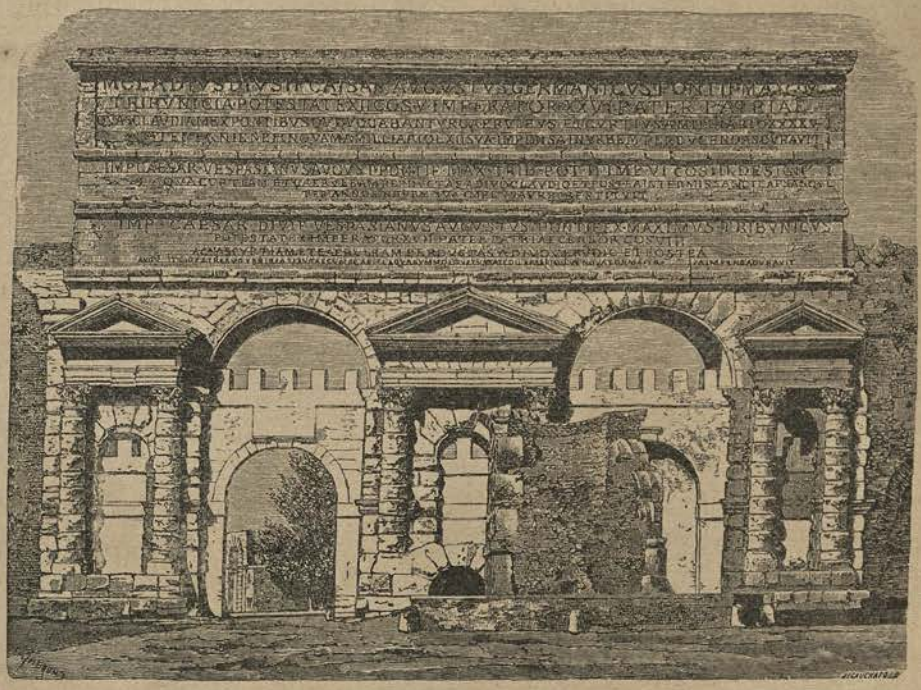
While Antony was dishonouring himself in the East, what was Octavius doing? We have already said he was governing; he was giving Italy the repose for which it yearned. In order to have the right to make useful changes, Agrippa the *consularis* and oft-victorious general, accepted by Octavius' orders the modest office of ædile (33). Forthwith he undertook immense works; the State buildings were repaired, the roads reconstructed, public fountains opened. Some of the aqueducts had fallen into decay; he repaired them and built a new one, the *aqua Julia*; the choked drains had become a cause of unhealthiness; he visited the main sewer in a boat and caused them to be cleaned out. He opened 170 free baths to the public and adorned the Circus with dolphins and oval signals showing the number of rounds.[3] To complete the reconciliation of the people with the triumvir he celebrated games which lasted fifty-nine days, and in the theatre he threw tickets about, which could be exchanged for money, garments, or other gifts. Even before the festivals he had made gratuitous

[1] Plut., *Anton.*, 59; Dion, l. 5.

[2] Bust of Cleopatra with diadem, encircled by a Latin inscription, CLEOPATRAE REGINAE FILIORVM REGVM. Silver coin.

[3] To win the prize for the race it was necessary to be the first to accomplish six rounds. At each round one of the seven dolphins and one of the seven ovals was lowered. (See the engraving on p. 541 of the first volume.) Pliny says of Rome concerning the drains; *urbe pensili, subterque navigata.* (xxxvi. 24.)

distributions of salt and oil, and had left immense quantities of goods of all descriptions exposed in the public square for the crowd to divide among themselves. This rough soldier believed in the good influence of art; he bought pictures and set them up in public places, and in Pliny's time there was still preserved



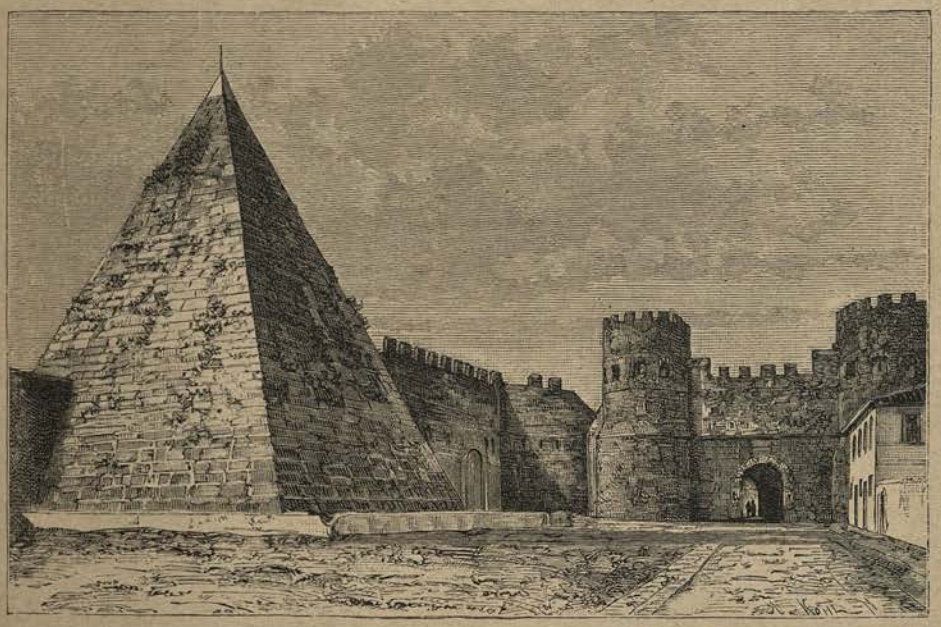
Porta Maggiore or *Porta Nevia* at Rome.[1]

a splendid speech of his on the advantages of drawing objects of art from their exile in the villas of the wealthy and collecting them in permanent exhibitions.[2] The pyramid of Cestius belongs to this period.

[1] Three aqueducts were constructed upon it, one above another: the *Aqua Julia* of Agrippa, the *Aqua Tepula* (of the year 127), and the *Aqua Marcia* (of 144), which Agrippa repaired. (Front., *de Aquæd.*, ii. 8, 9, 12, 19; Dion, xlviii. 32.) The *porta Maggiore* is situated at the fork of the road to Præneste, on the Labican Way. Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus in turn consolidated this fine monument, as is recorded by the three inscriptions engraved one above the other upon the broad strip of the wall. The small, crenelated arches which injure the grand effect of the triumphal gate are the work of the Middle Ages. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 264 and 265.)

[2] Dion (xlix. 43) mentions the expulsion from Rome by Agrippa of the astrologers and magicians, and a senatus-consultum forbade the summoning of a senator before a court of justice, ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ, for robbery. This passage has furnished matter for many commentaries. I think it must be looked upon as the commencement by Octavius of the reform completed by Augustus, rendering the senators answerable to the senate alone.

Though occupied with the public interest, military glory was not wanting to this government, and this was acquired by necessary expeditions. If Octavius talked of a descent upon Britain, it was to impress minds which the wars waged by Cæsar, Pompey and Antony at the ends of the earth had rendered contemptuous of modest enterprises; he also wished, by allowing these warlike rumours to circulate, to provide himself with a pretext for maintaining a considerable force. He had already perceived



Pyramid of Cestius (p. 524).[1]

that instead of launching forth into distant conquests, Rome ought to subdue the barbarians at her own gates; that it was needful to give security to Italy and Greece by taming the pirates of the Adriatic and the restless tribes settled to the north of the two peninsulas.

After a brief appearance in Africa to consolidate his power there, he led his legions against the Illyrians, being desirous of getting his soldiers away from Italy, where they were growing

[1] This *septemvir epulonum* was desirous of having for a tomb a pyramid 100 feet in height, and wished to have his most costly carpets buried with his ashes. Agrippa opposed this in the name of the law of the Twelve Tables on the subject of funerals, and the heirs obtained such a high price for these tapestries that they were able to give the pyramid a coating of marble. (Wilmanns, 216.)

effeminate, and re-establishing firm discipline among them by a foreign war, and of holding them, without oppressing the people, in readiness for the inevitable struggle with Antony. The Iapodes, the Liburnians, and the Dalmatians were subdued. At the siege of a stronghold courageously defended by the Iapodes his troops one day fled; he seized a shield and advanced with four others over the wooden bridge leading to the wall. The soldiers, seeing their general's danger, returned in such numbers that the bridge broke; Octavius was severely wounded.[1] This was a reply to those who during the Civil war had accused him of cowardice.

The Alps leave but one wide gate into Northern Italy, the one which the Julian Alps hardly protect. To secure it Octavius went beyond those mountains and established garrisons in the valley of the Save, where he took the strong place of Siscia. Some of the Pannonians promised him obedience. In the *Val d'Aosta* he suppressed brigandage among the Salassi, and though he did not then subdue them, he made their incursions difficult by founding two colonies, which became *Augusta Taurinorum* and *Augusta Prætoria* (Turin and Aosta). Finally in Africa, the last prince of Cæsarian Mauretania being dead, he united his possessions to the province. Agrippa and Messala had displayed their usual talent in these wars (35—33).

II.—Rupture between Octavius and Antony (32—30).

Thus of the two triumvirs, one was giving Roman countries to a barbarian queen, the other was augmenting the territory of the Empire. The former was diverting towards Alexandria the treasures and the respect of the East; the latter was decorating the Forum as in the best days of the Republic with rude but glorious spoils, and employing the booty taken from the Dalmatians in founding the Portico and Library of Octavia. Yet Antony complained; on the 1st of January, in the year 32, the consul Sosius reproached Octavius in his name with having dispossessed Sextus without sharing with his colleague the acquired provinces;

[1] App., *Bell. Illyr.*, 14 and *sq.*; Dion, xlix. 34–8; Suet., *Octav.*, 20.

Portico of Octavia (Present state).

with having distributed all the land in Italy among his soldiers and reserving nothing for the legions in the East. He added that Antony was ready to yield up to the people the powers which had been entrusted to him if the other triumvir would set the example. Octavius was then absent from Rome; a few days afterwards he repaired to the senate accompanied by soldiers and friends with arms concealed beneath their togas. To the consul's accusations he replied that Lepidus, having shown himself incapable and cruel, had been justly reduced to a private condition; that if Sicily and Africa had been added to the western provinces Antony had taken Egypt for himself; that for the rest he had sufficient to indemnify himself and his soldiers from the brilliant conquests he had made in Asia, but that he preferred to lavish on Cleopatra and that queen's children the treasures and provinces of Rome, whose name he was dishonouring by his conduct and his double treachery towards Sextus and Artavasdes.[1]

Cleopatra (from a Coin).

Upon this declaration, which announced a rupture, the two consuls, who were friends of Antony, left Rome, together with several senators, and went to join their patron. He was then in Armenia, the tribes of which he wished to compel to redeem their king by giving up his treasures; but the Armenians had preferred to proclaim Artaxias, the son of the captive prince, who unfortunately was unable to defend himself and fled to the king of the Parthians, Phraates IV. In order to secure the alliance of the king of the Medes, Antony gave him part of Armenia and married his son Alexander to the daughter of that prince. In return the Median king gave back the standards taken from the

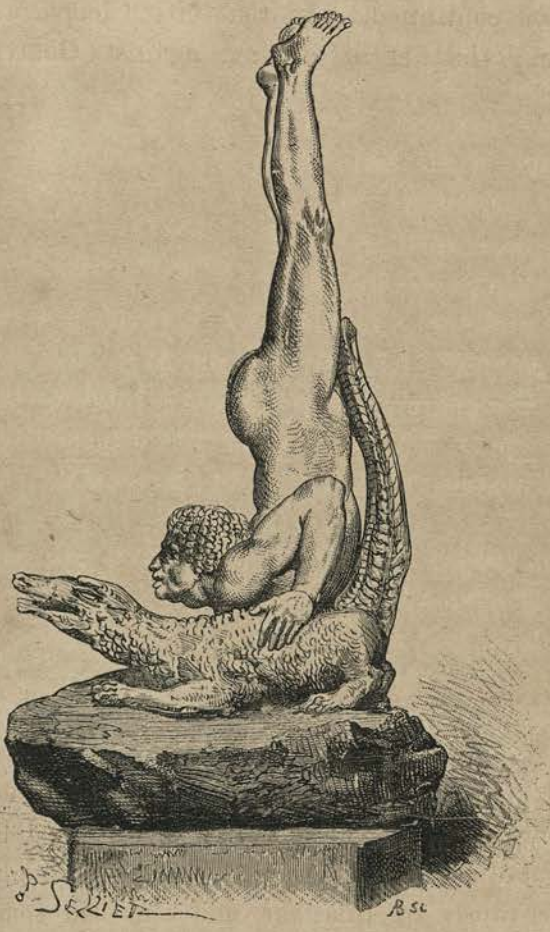
Phrates IV. (Arsaces XV.).[2]

[1] Plut., *Anton.*, 55; Dion, l. 1–3. He also reproved him sharply for having recognized Cæsarion as Cæsar's son, and having declared him a member of the Julian family. [Hence he had him put to death at Alexandria as an impostor. (Cf. below, p. 532 and 545 note 2.).—*Ed.*]

[2] Bust, facing left; diademed head of Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV., king of the Persians from the year 37 to the year 14 of our era. From a coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

legions during the expeditions of the year 36, and furnished the triumvir with cavalry and a subsidy.

On the news of the declarations made by Octavius in the senate Antony had decided upon war; he had ordered his lieutenant Canidius to assemble his land forces, and in spite of all that has been said about his effeminacy and thoughtlessness, which have doubtless been exaggerated, he still had sixteen legions ready to begin the campaign. He quickly reached the town of Ephesus, where 800 vessels were assembled; the queen had given 200 of them, with 20,000 talents and provisions for the whole duration of the war; but she had followed him. In vain did Antony's friends, Domitius and Plancus, urge him to send her back to her kingdom. She wished to keep watch over her lover and prevent any arrangement which might have led him back to Octavia; by means of bribery she won over Canidius, and the old soldier persuaded his general that Cleopatra would be a better adviser for him than any of the kings who followed his standards.



Mountebank on a Crocodile.[1]

Her presence soon became perceptible in the relaxation of the preparations. Feasting began again. Whilst from Syria to the

[1] Group in the British Museum representing an Egyptian performing feats of tumbling. Crocodiles often appear in the games of the Romans. (Clarac, pl. 875, No. 2223A.)

Palus Mæotis, and from Armenia to the shores of the Adriatic, kings and peoples were in movement to collect and transport provisions and arms, Antony and Cleopatra lived at Samos amid games and revelries; mountebanks, flute-players, and comedians had flocked thither from the whole of Asia in such numbers that Antony gave them for payment a whole town, the city of Priene. At Athens the *inimitable life* continued. In that city Cleopatra at length extorted from Antony the act of divorce against Octavia;

Temple of Athene Polias, at Priene.[1]

he sent it to her at Rome. She obeyed, and still taking with her the children of Fulvia, she left the house whence their father expelled her. She wept at the thought that the Romans might consider her as one of the causes of this war, and she had some right to think so; but between these two ambitious spirits an insult offered to the noble woman was scarcely a pretext (32). Many who valued the peace which Octavius maintained wept with her. Roused from his amours and gay songs by the din of arms, the favourite poet of Mecænas dolorously exclaimed; "O ship, fresh storms bear thee forth into the waves." [2]

[1] O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latinique*, vol. i., pl. 6.

[2] *O navis, referent in mare te novi*
Fluctus! etc. (Horace, *Od.*, I. xiv.)

Octavius was uneasy at the promptitude of Antony's preparations; his own were not terminated, and all Italy was murmuring at fresh taxes which deprived citizens of a fourth of their income, and freedmen possessed of 50,000 drachmæ of the eighth of their fortune. Fortunately Antony completed slowly what he had begun with the activity of Cæsar's former lieutenant. The summer passed in fêtes, and the war was inevitably postponed till the following year. This delay gave Octavius another advantage—the defection of several important men, who, disgusted at Cleopatra's haughtiness, returned to Italy. Among them were Plancus and Titius, both *consulares*. Plancus took it into his head rather late that the queen had made him play an unworthy part when at a festival he appeared, notwithstanding his age, with his body painted blue and his head crowned with reeds, dragging behind him a fish's tail to represent a sea god. In the senate he began at once to inveigh against Antony. "Antony must have done a great many infamous deeds the day before you left him," said Coponius, maliciously.[1] Asinius Pollio showed more self-respect; when Octavius urged him to march with him Pollio refused. "The services I have rendered Antony are greater, but those which he has rendered me are better known; therefore I cannot fight against him; I will await the issue of the struggle and be the spoil of the victor."

Coin of Coponius.[2]

Octavius had learnt from Plancus that Antony's will was in the hands of the Vestals; he took it from them and read to the senate the passages most likely to create irritation. Antony, admitting that there had been a lawful union between Cleopatra and the dictator, recognized Cæsarion as Cæsar's legitimate son and heir, so that in taking that name Octavius was only a usurper, and all his acts for the last twelve years were illegal. He renewed the gift to the queen and her children of almost all the countries which he had in his power; and finally, abjuring his fatherland

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 64. Messala had left him earlier, as soon as he had seen Antony become the Egyptian woman's slave. (App., *Bell., civ.*, iv. 38.)

[2] C. COPONIVS PR. C.; club covered with a lion's skin between a bow and an arrow. Prætor in 49, he was proscribed in 43, and was saved by his wife, who gave herself to Antony. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 40.)

and his ancestors, he ordered that even if he should die upon the banks of the Tiber, his body should be taken to Alexandria and laid in the tomb of Cleopatra. A senator named Calvisius added still more to the public anger by relating several traits of his mad passion for this woman, who no longer swore by aught but the decrees she should soon issue from the Capitol, and none doubted but that he would give her Rome itself, whilst he made the capital of Egypt the seat of government.[1] The few friends he still possessed sent one of themselves to enlighten him as to the situation; Cleopatra heaped mortifications upon this tardy adviser, and compelled him to go back without having spoken with Antony in private. Silanus and the historian Dellius were obliged to flee to escape the snares she laid for them.

When Octavius was ready he instigated a decree of the senate depriving Antony of the consulship for the year 31, and robed as a *fetialis* he repaired to the temple of Bellona, where he performed the ceremonies in use in ancient times upon declarations of war.[2] The queen of Egypt alone was named. "It is not Antony nor the Romans whom we are going to fight," said Octavius, "but the woman who in the delirium of her hopes and the intoxication of her good fortune dreams of the fall of the Capitol and the burial of the Empire." To declare Antony a public enemy would indeed have been to include in the proscription all the Romans whom he had with him and the whole of his army. Octavius was too prudent to tell sixteen legions that they had no alternative but victory or death. On the 1st of January, 31 B.C., he took possession of the consulship and took as his colleague in place of Antony the brave Valerius Messala, who had beaten him at Philippi. The triumvirate had expired on the preceding day, and he had given no notice of its renewal. "It was no longer then, a triumvir going forth to fight for his own cause, but a consul of the Roman people, surrounded by the worthiest men of the State, marching against the minister of a foreign queen."

[1] Dion, l. 5; Plut., *Anton.*, 64; Suet., *Octav.*, 17. [We may suspect both the terms of Antony's will and the policy of Cleopatra as reported by the party of Octavius. Such falsifications were usual and successful in those days, and had been practised by Antony in the case of Cæsar.—*Ed.*]

[2] Dion, l. 4. (See vol. i. p. 193.)

Antony passed the winter of 32—31 at Patras. He was master of Greece, where he had assembled 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse. The kings of Mauretania, Commagene, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, a dynast of Cilicia, and a Thracian chief followed his standard in person. Pontus, Galatia, the Medes, the Jews, an Arab prince, and a Lycaonian chief had sent him auxiliaries. His fleet numbered 500 great war-ships, several of which had eight and ten banks of oars, but they were heavy in build, ill-managed, and denuded of rowers and marines. When the bad state of his

Swift-sailing Galley.[1]

naval armament was represented to Antony, he said; "What does it matter about sailors; whilst there are oars on board and men in Greece we shall not lack for rowers." All the Greeks however, were not for him; Mantinea sent the Cæsarians a contingent which fought at Actium.[2] Others must have followed this example, for the common misery of these people had not inspired them with common sentiments. Octavius had but 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and only 250 vessels of inferior build. Their lightness, the experience of the sailors and soldiers, who had been trained in

[1] Light vessel built upon the model of the pirate ships of Illyria and adopted by the Romans. (Rich, *Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 363, under the word *Liburna.*)

[2] Pausan., VIII. viii. 12.

the difficult war against Sextus, more than compensated for the inferiority in point of numbers.

Whilst Octavius repaired to Corcyra, Agrippa led the fleet to Methone, on the shores of the Peloponnesus, to intercept the convoys arriving from Egypt or Asia, and starve the multitude which Greece was too poor to maintain. The lightness of his vessels secured the freedom of his movements, though in the neighbourhood of a fleet which appeared formidable; he penetrated everywhere, even into the Gulf of Corinth, where he took Patræ (Patras), the headquarters of Antony, and the island of Leucas, the outpost on the Ionian Sea. This war of skirmishes was already distressing the enemy; when Octavius' army had landed on the coast of Epirus, not far from the Antonian legions, defections began, although Antony had sworn an oath before his troops to abdicate two months after the victory. Domitius set the example; Dejotarus, Amyntas, and afterwards Philadelphos followed his lead. Antony thought he was surrounded by traitors, and reverting to cruelty, tortured and then put to death an Arab chief named Jamblicus and the senator Postumius. He even doubted Cleopatra, suspected her of wishing to poison him, and forced her to taste before him all the meats served up to them, a precaution which the queen exposed in a terrible manner. One day when she had come to the feast, with a wreath of flowers in her hair, she asked her lover to throw one of these flowers into the cup from which he drank. As he was raising the cup to his lips she suddenly caught hold of his arm, took the cup, and gave it to a slave, who emptied it and fell down dead. Antony, filled with love and terror, gave himself up to this strange creature, who united in her person every kind of fatal fascination.

War Ship.[1]

Tarcondimotos, King of Cilicia.

Several partial combats preceded the decisive action. Bogud, king of Mauretania, fell in the Peloponnesus, and Nasidius was beaten by Agrippa, who in another encounter at sea slew the Cilician Tarcondimotos. At the same

[1] From an engraved gem. (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*)

time Titius and Statilius Taurus inflicted a check upon Antony's cavalry. Meanwhile, little by little the two armies concentrated; that of Antony at Actium, on the coast of Acarnania, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia, that of Octavius facing it on

Cleopatra.[1]

the coast of Epirus.[2] Antony had proposed to his rival to end their quarrel by a single combat, or else to repair to Pharsalia with

[1] Statue in the Museum of St. Mark at Venice. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 912, No. 2322.)

[2] Plut., *Anton.*, 19; Dion, l. 13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxi. 9. The gulf of Ambracia, now the gulf of Arta, communicates with the Ionian Sea by a channel 545 yards wide in the narrowest place, but not five in depth, and full of dangerous shoals and rocks. The inside of the bay, on the other hand, affords excellent anchorage. Large vessels can anchor alongside the quay beneath the walls of Prevesa. With the expenditure of a little labour this little inland sea might be made a splendid closed roadstead where armourclads might anchor. It was behind this town, on the isthmus connecting the point of Prevesa with the mainland of Epirus, that Nicopolis was built. As fresh water was scarce there, Octavius built an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

all their forces and there decide to whom the heritage of Cæsar should fall. All his generals, and especially Canidius, were in favour of this latter plan.

But Cleopatra wished them to fight on sea, that her Egyptian vessels might have a share in the victory, and in case of a reverse might secure her retreat. On land it would have been necessary to abandon Antony or run into dangers which she dared not face. No doubt she had represented to him that the partial checks he had received, the defections which he saw increasing in number, and the difficulties which daily became greater of supporting a numerous army in Greece, ought to decide him upon seeking another battlefield; that whichever of the two adversaries obtained the command of the sea could starve the other,[1] and that the number and strength of his vessels promised him the victory; and finally, that a naval victory was necessary in order to open a way to Italy or to close the road against his enemies to the East, and especially to Egypt, which in the hands of a victor would be an impregnable fortress, whence Africa and Asia could be ruled without any trouble. These considerations must have been put forward, for without them it is impossible to understand the conduct of a man whose vices could not have deprived him of all his military ability.

Antony yielded; he put 20,000 legionaries and 2,000 archers on board his galleys, which, through desertions and the sickness prevalent during the winter, were short of men. But the legionaries were very unwilling to serve on the ships; one commander of a cohort, whose body was covered with wounds, seeing Antony passing by, cried out in a sorrowful voice: "Oh, my general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword and found your hopes upon rotten wood? Let the men of Egypt and Phœnicia fight on the sea, and give us the dry land, whereon we know how to conquer or die." Antony answered not a word; he only made him a sign to encourage him and give him a hope which he himself did not share; for when his pilots wished to leave the sails on land, as was customary, he ordered them to take them with them.

[1] Τῷ γε λιμῷ χειρωσόμεθα. (Dion, L. 19.) Virgil has described the battle of Actium. (*Æn*, viii. 675–713; Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, I. xxxvii.; Proper., IV. vi. 55.)

[2] Plut., *Anton.*, 67.

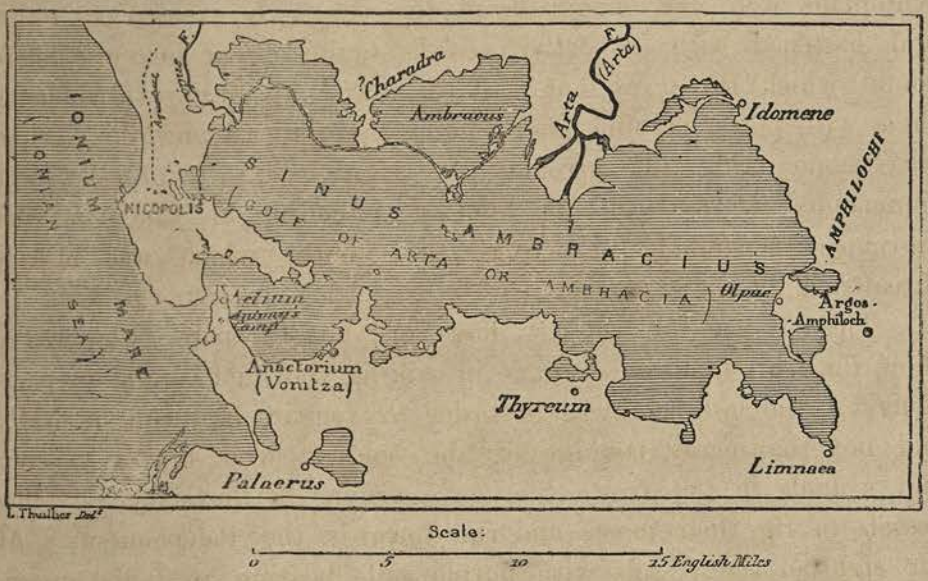
In order to reinforce the rowing-strength of his remaining galleys, he had burnt 140 vessels. The sailors were still too few, however, to manœuvre these cumbrous craft with ease. For four days the roughness of the sea would not allow of the two fleets meeting. At length, on the 2nd of September, 31, the wind fell; Antony's ships lay till mid-day immovable at the entrance of the straits; about that time a light breeze sprang up and they advanced to meet the enemy, who for some time refused to engage on his right wing in order to draw them out into the open sea. Octavius had stationed himself on that side; when he thought the Antonians were far enough from the coast, he ceased to retire, and hastened with his active vessels against their heavy citadels, round which three or four galleys rowed at once, overwhelming them with pikes, javelins, and flaming arrows. Meanwhile Agrippa was manœuvring to surround the right wing. Publicola, who commanded it, tried to stop him by extending his line; but this movement separated him from the centre which was already threatened by the Cæsarians.

The day was not yet lost, however; but Cleopatra, who was to show the truly feminine courage in making slow and careful preparations for the last sacrifice, in order to remain beautiful in death, had not the manly courage of the soldier, who braves violence and wounds in the fray. She gave orders to the sixty Egyptian vessels to rig their masts and run towards the Peloponnesus. At the sight of the vessels with purple sails bearing away the queen, Antony, forgetting those who were at that very moment dying for him, went on board a swift galley and followed in her track. He boarded her vessel; but without speaking to her or looking at her, he seated himself at the prow and leaned his head upon his hands. For three days he remained in the same posture and the same silence till they reached Cape Tænaron, when Cleopatra's women arranged an interview. Thence they set sail for Africa.

His fleet defended itself for a long time; towards the tenth hour the report spread on the vessels that Antony was fleeing. At that time they had lost only five thousand men. But their line was broken, many of the ships had their oars shattered, and the roughness of the sea, as it dashed against their bows, made it no longer possible to steer them; 300 surrendered. The

land army was intact; the soldiers refused to believe in the baseness of their leader, and for seven days they still held out against the solicitations of Cæsar's envoys; but Canidius, who was in command, having in his turn abandoned them, they gave in their submission to the victor.

On the shore, opposite the scene of the action, stood a modest temple of Apollo; Octavius there consecrated as trophies eight vessels of all classes, and the bronze image of a peasant and his ass that he had found on his road before the battle. The man was called Eutyches, the *Fortunate*, and the beast, Nicon, the

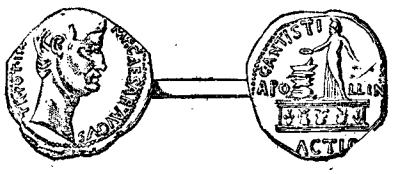


Map of the Gulf of Ambracia for the battle of Actium.

Victorious. In this meeting Octavius had seen a presage of victory, and the greatest sceptic among the Romans would have done the same. He founded Actian games which were to be celebrated every fifth year; competitions in music and poetry, naval tournaments, horse-races, and contests of athletes. Greece adopted them, and the Actian games became the fifth of her great national festivals.[1] On the other side of the straits, at the spot where he had camped, he laid the foundations of *Nicopolis*, the city of victory, upon an isthmus washed by the waters of the

[1] The four others were the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemæan games. [In after days the Actian ranked next to the Olympian.—*Ed.*]

Gulf of Ambracia and of the Ionian sea. A double memory of clemency and triumph was connected with the origin of the new city. The victor of Philippi had been pitiless. Now that war had decimated the generation which had seen and loved the Republic of Cicero, the victor of Actium thought he might be indulgent.[1] Among the important prisoners none of those who asked for his life was refused. Formerly the party leader had avenged himself, now the master pardoned. A son of Curio was put to death, however; the memory of his father, the tribune who had been so useful to Cæsar, should have been a protection to him in the eyes of the dictator's heir.



Apollo Actius.[2]

Among those who persist in not understanding that the Roman oligarchy which bore the fine name of Republic was unworthy to retain power, Brutus and Cato still find partisans; but Antony has none. It is because he represents no idea, no principle; his victory would have settled nothing and led to nothing.

If the leader of the Antonians was no longer to be feared, the soldiers both of victor and vanquished became so. Octavius hastened to grant discharges to the veterans and disperse them through Italy and the provinces whence they had come. He had left Mecænas at Rome, he now sent Agrippa thither also, that these two able men who might, with their combined qualities of prudence and courage, stifle any movement of revolt in its birth. He himself undertook the duty of pursuing his rival. In passing through Greece he was witness of the sad state of that province, ruined by Antony. "I have heard my great grandfather relate," says Plutarch, "that the inhabitants of Cheronæa had been forced to carry corn upon their shoulders as far as the sea of Anticyra,

[1] Head of Augustus; TR. POT. IIX.; eighth tribunitian power (22 B.C.). On the reverse, Apollo making a libation upon a rustic altar and holding the lyre in his left hand. The stage on which he stands is decorated with anchors and beaks of ships. Coin of Antistius Vetus. (Cohen, *Antis.*, 12.)

[2] *Victoria fuit clementissima.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 86.) Yet he obliged a father and son to draw lots which should be put to death. (Dion, li. 2.) This fact allows us to infer others, but there were not the great massacres which usually took place.

urged on with lashes by the triumvir's soldiers. They had already made one journey, and were under orders to bear a second load, when word came of Antony's defeat;" this news saved the town. Octavius took compassion on the misery of Greece, and what remained of the provisions collected for the war was distributed by his orders among those cities which had neither money, nor slaves, nor beasts of burden left. Thence he set sail for Asia, entering into terms with the cities and princes in alliance with his foe, some of which escaped with the loss of their privileges, others with the payment of a war-contribution or by giving up what they had intended for Antony. As he did not know whither the latter had fled, he halted at Samos, and passed the winter there.

The news of the disturbances which he had foreseen, and which had just broken out among the disbanded legionaries, recalled him to Italy. At the beginning of the year 30, he landed at Brundisium, whither senators, knights, magistrates, and even some of the people hastened to meet him; the veterans, carried away by the general enthusiasm, swelled the procession; Octavius had reason to be satisfied with this test of his power, and with this proof of the adulation and servility of the Romans. As he lacked funds to fulfil his promises to the soldiers, he put up for sale his own estates and those of his friends. None, it is true, dared bid for them, but the desired result was attained; the veterans contented themselves with a little money till the treasures of Egypt should be open to them; we may add that those who had served longest were settled in certain towns which had shown a disposition favourable to Antony. The inhabitants were dragged from the homes of the fathers and transported to Dyrrachium, Philippi, and some other cities in the provinces. This measure was cruel to the Italians, but the Empire gained thereby; deserted cities were repeopled, and the fusion of races progressed. These measures quickly calmed the agitation; Octavius did not even require to go to Rome, which was already growing accustomed to see things done without its co-operation; twenty-seven days after his arrival at Brundisium, he was able to set out again.[1]

[1] Dion, li. 4–5; Suet., *Octav.*, 17; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 42.

Not daring, on account of the winter, to make straight for Egypt, he had his vessels dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth, and with the celerity of Cæsar, landed in Asia, so that Antony heard of his departure for Italy and his return at the same time.

At Parætonium, on the coast of Africa, Antony and Cleopatra had separated. The queen, in order to prevent a revolt, appeared before Alexandria with her ships wreathed with laurels, as though they were returning from a triumph. But on re-entering her palace she ordered the death of all whom she suspected, swelled her treasuries with the property of the victims, plundered the temples of their wealth, and in the hopes of obtaining some assistance from the Medes, sent them the head of the king of Armenia, her captive. As for Antony, at first he had wandered about in the solitudes near Parætonium like a man bereft of his senses; and on the news of the defection of Pinarius Scarpus, who commanded an army for him in those regions, he had tried to kill himself. His friends led him back to Alexandria, whither Canidius came to tell him of the fate of his legions at the Actian Promontory. All the princes of Asia abandoned him; at the very gates of Egypt, Herod, the king of the Jews, betrayed his cause. Some gladiators whom he maintained at Cyzicus remained faithful to him; they passed through the whole length of Asia, and only yielded on a false report of their master's death.[1]

As everything failed her, Cleopatra began to transport her vessels and treasures across the Isthmus of Suez, in order to take refuge in far-off lands. But the Arabs plundered the first vessels in the Red Sea, and she abandoned her design. They then thought of getting to Spain, hoping that with their wealth they would easily excite that province to revolt. This scheme too was abandoned. Tired of making impracticable plans, Antony would no longer see anyone, and shut himself up in a tower which he built on the end of a pier. "I wish now," said he, "to live like Timon." It was rather late to philosophize. He could not even keep up this character, and to end as he had lived, amid orgies, he returned to Cleopatra. They founded a new society, that of the *inseparable in death*. Those who belonged to it were

[1] A suburb of Antioch was granted to them; later on they were dispersed with the pretext of enrolling them in the legions and were killed. (Dion, li. 7.)

to pass the days amid good cheer and die together. Cleopatra collected all the poisons known and studied their effects upon living persons; she also tried venomous beasts, and decided on the asp, which she had seen produce a quiet death whereby the features were not disturbed.

They still, however, retained some glimmering of hope, and demanded of the victor—Antony, leave to retire to Athens, and live there as a private individual, Cleopatra, the succession to the crown of Egypt for her children. The same deputies bore both messages. But the queen secretly offered Octavius a sceptre, a crown and a royal throne. He replied to this proposed treason by two letters, the one public, ordering her to lay down arms and her authority; the other secret, guaranteeing her pardon and the retention of her kingdom if she drove out or killed Antony. At the same time he sent her a freedman who, by false promises, was to keep up her hopes and preserve for the triumph of the victor of Actium its principal ornament. Cleopatra called to mind that as a child she had conquered Cæsar, then Antony, and she began to think that Octavius, who was younger than either of them, might probably not be more obdurate. She was then thirty-nine, however, but her beauty had always been less formidable than her wit and grace. The hero had foibles, the soldier vices; both succumbed; the politician remained cold and unmoved.

Antony was not ashamed to ask for his life twice more; he sent his son Antyllus to entreat Octavius,[1] and gave up the senator Turullius, one of Cæsar's murderers. Octavius made no reply, but kept advancing; soon he arrived before Pelusium, which Cleopatra opened to him. As the din of arms drew near, Antony seemed to rouse himself; he made preparations for defence, hastened into Libya to try and seduce the soldiers whom Octavius had sent thither, and then returned to Alexandria, which his rival was already threatening. In a cavalry skirmish, in which he displayed his brilliant valour, he put the enemy to flight. But Cleopatra betrayed him; shut up with all her wealth in a high tower which she had built to serve as her tomb, she awaited

Antyllus.

[1] This Antyllus was slain after his father's death.

the issue of the quarrel. Her ministers and troops appeared to co-operate in the defence of the place; but in reality Antony could only rely upon the few legionaries he had collected. He challenged Octavius to single combat. The latter smiled and merely replied that Antony had more than one road to death open to him.

Encouraged, however, by the success of the cavalry fight, Antony decided upon an attack by land and sea. As soon as the Egyptian galleys found themselves near those of Cæsar, they saluted with their oars and went over to his side. On land, his cavalry abandoned him, and his infantry was easily repulsed. He re-entered the town exclaiming that he was betrayed by Cleopatra. The queen, who had taken refuge in her tower, lowered the portcullis and strengthened the doors with great beams, whilst she sent to Antony false tidings of her death. They had made a mutual promise that neither should survive the death of the other. Antony ordered his slave Eros to strike the mortal blow. Without replying, the slave drew his sword, struck himself, and fell dead at his feet. "Brave Eros," exclaimed Antony, "thou teachest me what I should do." And taking off his cuirass, he stabbed himself in turn.

Cleopatra with Diadem.

As soon as Cleopatra heard of it she wished to have the body in order to give it up to the victor herself as her ransom, and Antony was carried, all covered with blood, to the foot of her tower; she did not open the door, but from a window she let down cords, and with the two women who had followed her, raised him up to her. Scarcely had she laid him down upon a couch, when he asked for wine and expired; a worthy end of the man who had nought but a soldier's soul.

Meanwhile Octavius had entered Alexandria unopposed. He ordered Proculeius, one of his officers, to try to take the queen alive, and not to allow her time to light the fire she had prepared to consume her riches, if she should be broken in upon in her retreat. Whilst she was holding a parley through the door with Gallus, Proculeius, passing noiselessly through the window which had served to admit Antony, seized hold of her and snatched from her hand a dagger with which she feebly tried to stab herself.

At first she wished to starve herself to death, but Octavius compelled her to renounce that design by making her fear for her children; then he reassured her, and to reconcile her to life, promised her still a brilliant lot. She allowed herself to be led back to the palace, resumed the insignia of royalty and received all the consideration due to her rank, but all the while she remained under strict surveillance. Octavius himself came to see her. On that day she surrounded herself with souvenirs of Cæsar, as though to shelter herself by his love against the hatred of his son. The room was decorated with busts and statues of the dictator. The letters he had written lay near her, and she showed them to Octavius. She talked much of the glory of his father, and the power which he had won and she had lost; and with tears in her eyes she said: "At present, O Cæsar, what do these letters of thine avail me? But thou livest again in thy son." Every word, every gesture, every attitude, was calculated to excite pity or a warmer feeling; and there was still a great seduction in her speech, a wonderful grace in her features and in her bearing as she stood in her long mourning garments. Octavius listened in silence with his eyes fixed on the ground. At length he rose: "Be of good courage, lady," said he; then he asked her for the list of her treasures and went out. Cleopatra remained overwhelmed at this cold reply; the woman was vanquished as well as the queen. Soon she learnt from Corn. Dolabella, a young noble whom she had won over, that in three days she was to set forth for Rome. This news decided her. "No! no!" she secretly repeated, "I will not be dragged along at a triumph: *Non triumphabor!*" The next day she was found lying dead on a golden bed, clad in her royal robes, and her two women lifeless at her feet[2] (15th of August, 30 B.C.). No one

Coin of Proculeius.[1]

[1] C. PROCVLEI L. F. and a *bipennis* (two-edged axe).

[2] Plut., *Anton.*, 84–95; Dion, li. 10–14; Livy, *Frag.*, cxxxiii. Octavius put to death Cæsarion, who was then eighteen, and who was given up to him by his tutor, to whom Cleopatra had given great treasures, charging him to take him into Ethiopia or India. [The character of this son of the great Cæsar, whose fate reminds us of that of Alexander the Great's sons, Alexander and Heracles, is unknown to us. From his birth no doubt, his fate was decided. What Roman would tolerate this rival, the real blood of the great Cæsar? Octavius of course, assumed him to be an impostor, ascribed to the great dictator by an abandoned and ambitious

knew how she had killed herself; Octavius, by displaying at his triumph a statue of Cleopatra with a serpent on her arm, confirmed the report that she had caused herself to be stung by an asp which a peasant had brought her hidden beneath some figs or flowers. Egypt was reduced to a province.

For twenty years the Republic had been dead, and the Empire was not yet born. These periods, when the bases which bore the old state of society have crumbled away, and the foundations of the new have not yet emerged, are the most painful epochs in the history of humanity. Antony's death put an end to this era of transformation and freed men's minds from the terrible burden of uncertainty. Prolonged and sincere acclamations greeted the victory of Octavius; Virgil and Horace echoed in their beautiful verses the universal hope. They were right. It was peace coming at last, to scatter round her, riches for some, and well-being for many; wiser laws were to be made, purer faiths spread, the world was at length about to change.[1]

But would these beliefs and these laws bring back again the manly character of former days?

In the place of despoiled citizens, who had well deserved their fate, would there be produced men capable of regaining by voluntary discipline and political intelligence the rights which they had lost? Or, if liberty was to return no more, would it at least be possible to organize these multitudes, who should henceforth obey but one will, that of the prince, into a vigorous body capable of a long existence?

And since we are about to have an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation replacing the two evil things through which the Republic had perished; the oligarchy, which had just

woman. Nevertheless his fate, like that of the other princes mentioned, is deeply pathetic.—*Ed.*]

In 1830 there were found in the foundations of an old Buddhist tower on the left bank of the Indus some medals of Marc Antony and Kanichka, king of Bactriana and of a part of India, who Virgil mentions as an ally of the triumvir; . . . . *et ultima secum Bactra vehit.* Antony had established relations with this powerful prince, who was the natural enemy of the Parthians on the east, as the Romans were on the west, and it was no doubt to him that Cleopatra wished to send her son. (Cf. Reinaud, *Relations de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale.*)

[1] *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

(Virgil, *Ecl.*, iv. 5.)

been overthrown, and the populace, which regarded the victory of Cæsar and Octavius as its triumph?

The history of Augustus and his successors will give us the answer.

[1] Small bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2978. The cuirass and the greaves are ornamented with chiselling in relief; the helmet is surmounted by a mutilated sphinx. The arms which this wingless genius held are gone.

Genius of Mars.[1]

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ROMAN PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

I.—What was the Proper Work of the Empire?

In nature nothing is lost, nothing is created, and everything changes according to immutable laws. In the world of history, which is that of life and liberty, everything is transformed slowly when wisdom guides the people; with violence when passion carries them away. But lasting transformations are never the work of caprice; their sequence is always the relation between cause and effect. The charm and use of history lie in studying the causes which incessantly modify the life of nations. We have seen, in the preceding volume and in this, the forces of destruction in action for a century; now that republican Rome had just expired in fearful agony, we shall see the forces of renovation at work. Hitherto we have remained amid conquerors at Rome and in the camps of the legions; now we must go to the vanquished; the Empire is come; let us visit the domain bequeathed by the Republic to the emperor.

The senate, with its excellent views on the government of the provinces, had shown itself incapable of providing what masters owe to their subjects, *security*. This task fell to the emperors, to those at least who were worthy of the title. Before we follow them into this immense work, we must take a closer view of those populations which were very shortly to give Rome grammarians, rhetors, lawyers, or poets, and to the State its most glorious leaders. On reading the tragic history of this tottering Republic, assailed from all quarters, ruined, overthrown, we forget those submissive multitudes to whom the Romans, in

their turn, had just displayed the spectacle of innumerable and illustrious gladiators slaying one another in the vast arena of the world. Now that the ancient edifice which at first had sheltered so many virtues and afterwards so many vices, was fallen, men stumbled upon its ruins at every step; under Vespasian and Trajan, and even later, men spoke of the Republic, of the senate, and the Roman people, and in all the history of the Empire many have tried to see only the protests of liberty and the vengeance of despotism. But when we remember that words last longer than the things they signify, we shall not consider these apparent regrets as serious, but turn away from the bloody or hideous scenes of the palace and Curia, and see a fresh world by degrees arising and spreading over these ruins and recollections.

Security.[1]

The men and the things of the future were the provincials who were to tear from Italy her ancient privileges and spread throughout the barbarous West Græco-Latin civilization, and the laws obtained for 100,000,000 men from emperors born at Seville, Lyons or Leptis—laws which could be called recorded reason. The new religion, too, was to be formed for this new state of society; the Mosaic Jehovah, the jealous and implacable ruler of a privileged race, was to be revealed as the universal god of the poor and afflicted; so that at the very time when the emperors were inserting into the civil law the isolating

[1] Bronze figure of the time of the emperors. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3050.)

principle of individual right, Christianity was endeavouring to put into men's hearts the uniting sentiment of fraternity; two great ideas of the imperial epoch which modern Europe has rediscovered beneath the ruins of the Middle Ages, with the obligation to unite them and make them at length prevail.

In order to measure this advance of the provinces towards equality of rights, civilization, wealth, and afterwards religion, it is well to mark clearly the point from whence each started.

The Empire of Rome, or, as its historians and legists said, the *Roman Universe*, was sufficiently vast, when Augustus became its master, to embrace almost every race of men in the old continent.

The Iberians, free from any admixture, were settled in the Pyrenees between the Garonne and the Upper Ebro; they had blended with Phœnicians in Bætica, and with Gauls towards the mouth of the Tagus and in Celtiberia.

The Celts also occupied Great Britain, Gaul, except Aquitania and part of Gallia Narbonensis, Upper Italy, the Alps, several countries on the right bank of the Danube, and some settlements in Asia Minor (Galatia).

The Germans and Sclavs, or Sarmatæ, shared the vast plain which stretches from the Northern Ocean to the Caspian Sea.

The Greek and Latin nations occupied the centre of the Empire; the former looked towards the east, as though still obeying the impulse given by Alexander; the latter towards the west, where they spread the manners and speech of Rome.

On the south Semite tribes covered all the African shore of the Mediterranean under the name of Moors, Numidians and Phœnicians. In Egypt, they had mingled with the Ethiopian race, as in Armenia with the Aryans. All the Arabian peninsula with Palestine belonged to them. In Syria they were [partly] Hellenised.

Beyond them ruled the tribes of the Zend, still further those of the Sanskrit or Hindoos, and in the extreme east the Seres.

All these nations, except the two last, were or were about to become the subjects, the enemies or the allies of the Empire. The Germans had already commenced that war which was to last for four centuries; the Parthians still kept the standards of Crassus; very shortly India was going to send deputies to Augustus; under

the Antonines the Seres would see Roman merchants arrive among them, and their historians would then know of only two Empires in the world, that of the Centre and that of the West.[1]

We have nothing to tell of the Seres or the Hindoos; with the former the Empire had only a few very slight communications, which left no trace behind; with the latter their commercial relations were certainly very active, but the ancient writers, who did not trouble themselves about social economy, have preserved no records of them. The same reasons could not apply to the Parthians and Germans, who will occupy so important a place in this history. But it is the state of the Roman provinces which we particularly desire to study; for in order to appreciate the results of the foundation of the Empire, it is important to show that from the fierce free Cantabrian in his mountains, to servile and effeminate Greece or Ephesus, there existed among those people all the degrees through which men pass from the wildest barbarism to the most refined civilization, together with a very great diversity of language, customs, and character.

Ethiopian Child.[2]

It was necessary, however, to draw these nations closer together, in order to give them, by union, the strength to resist

[1] It is worthy of remark that in the half century preceding the Christian era almost the whole of the old continent was divided among four or five great political systems. To the south Vikramaditya had united the greater part of the Indian peninsula; on the east the Chinese empire, under the Han dynasty, had compelled the chiefs of the tribes of inner Asia to recognize their supremacy, and even the princes of Transoxiana often did them homage. The whole West was occupied by the Roman empire; in the centre, between the Caspian and the Indian Ocean, the Parthian monarchy held sway; and finally, beyond that, in Bactriana and the valley of the Indus, there reigned powerful princes, whom we shall see entering into relations with the Romans. In order to avoid unduly extending this work I abridge these chapters about the provinces and suppress a quantity of notes, which may be found, if required, in the volume which I published in 1863 under the title, *Etat du monde romain au temps de la fondation de l'empire*, or in the preceding editions of my *History of the Romans*.

[2] Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii., pl. 35.

the tribes of the North till the Empire should have finished its work. Beyond the Rhine and the Danube were threatening hordes whom the Cimbri and Suevi had taught the road to the lands of sunshine, wine, and gold. With one hand the Empire held them back, with the other it covered the provinces with roads, aqueducts and flourishing cities, while for two centuries and a half it kept away war; it impressed upon the provinces its language and spirit, its laws and worship; and when the rampart was forced the invading flood encountered so many obstacles that it could not sweep all away. Ancient civilization, that is our own, after having reigned over 100,000,000 men, after having rooted itself by its beliefs into the heart of the nations, as it did by its monuments in the soil which bore them, yet required ten centuries to issue from beneath the ruins. What would it have been had the invasion found nought before it but barbarism, save at Athens, Rome, and Alexandria? When these three hearths had been extinguished, what dark ages indeed there would have been throughout the world!

II.—Provinces in the West and North.

Spain.—Two great races had peopled Spain, the Iberi and the Celts. The latter, who came last, had occupied all the North and West, except the Basque country; the former the South and East. In the centre the two races were blended, and this crossing had been of advantage to the tribes which sprang from it; the Celtiberi are the heroes of ancient Spain. Settled on the lofty plateau whence descend the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, they commanded the communications between the two slopes of the peninsula, and as they held their independence against Rome for three-quarters of a century, Spain preserved her independence for those seventy years; Numantia was one of their cities. At the foot of their mountains there was a long halt in the advance of the civilization which the Greeks brought to the shores of Catalonia and Valentia, and the Carthaginians into Murcia and Andalusia. The southern Iberi had given way to the influence of the foreign colonies, which by degrees softened their manners and disarmed their ferocity. The Turduli and Turdetani proudly displayed books

IMPERIUM ROMANUM
JAM LATISSIME PATENS
A.D. 98–117
BY KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.S.E.
Longitude 30 East of Ferro
Rhenus R.
GERMANIA
DACIA
MOESIA
GALLIA
HISPANIA
MAURETANIA
GAETULIA
AFRICA
LIBYA
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
BABYLONIA
ASSYRIA
ARABIA
ARABIA PETRAEA
Pharsania
MEDITERRANEUM MARE
ATLANTICUS OCEANUS
IMPERIUM ROMANORUM
in Orientale et Occidentale
jam divisum
IMPERIUM ROMANORUM
Occidentali parte jam eversa
Longitude East 20 of Greenwich

of history, poems and laws written in verse, they said, 6,000 years before.[1] But the Romans, disdainful of this literature which did not possess the merit of having arisen on the banks of the Ilissus or the Mæander, declared that these pacific tastes had weakened their courage: *Turdetani . . . maxime imbelles.* Empires fall, religions change, nations are transformed, but certain customs last throughout the centuries. Strabo saw on the heads of the women of Bætica the light tissue which still adds such grace to the daughters of Andalusia.

Bætica, on the south of the Sierra Morena (*Castulonensis saltus*), contained many towns and accepted the manners of Rome as easily as it adopted those of the Phœnician colonists. Under the peace of the Empire it was about to make a profitable use of the wealth of a land to which Nature had refused nothing—beauty of climate, fertility of soil, and mines apparently inexhaustible; those of *Ilipa* and *Sisapo* (Almaden) then ranked first.

Coin of *Ilipa*.[2]

The Roman influence even gained the warlike Celtiberians, but slowly, for they had no large towns through which the new customs could be propagated in the country; and the ancient manners easily held their own in their numerous villages hidden among the mountains. They were skilled in forging arms, and still more so in the use of them; and as they could no longer bear them in their own cause, they went and fought beneath the standards of Rome. Beyond these the Celtic tribes unwillingly followed the new way. The Lusitanians (Portugal), always so eager for war, had been condemned to repose; Augustus was to bring them under Roman civilization.

To the north of Lusitania the Gallaïci had early been somewhat civilized by their commercial relations with the Carthaginians, who came among them in search of the produce of their fisheries and of the gold which they gathered almost on the surface of the

[1] Strabo testifies to the immense commerce which Spain carried on, in his times, with Italy. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv. 34; iii. 4) extols its breed of horses, and it was said that on the banks of the Tagus the wind fertilized the mares. (*Ibid.*, viii. 42.) Strabo adds that these horses were as swift as those of the Parthians. Being improved, in the seventh century of our era, by an admixture of Arab blood, this breed gave rise, in the fourteenth century, to the English breed.

[2] ILIPENSE; a fish and beneath it a crescent.

ground. Yet on seeing the peasant of the Minho's banks guiding the plough with one hand and with the other grasping his javelin, it was easy to recognize the war-like race from which he sprang. The Vascones, too, settled on one of the high roads from Spain into Gaul, mixed commerce and warfare. Phœnician coins found in their territory testify that the indefatigable sailors of Tyre and Gades had discovered and worked their mines. But on the narrow and dangerous coast of the Gulf of Gascony, in the rugged mountains of Biscay, two nations had hitherto refused the yoke beneath which the whole of Spain had bowed its neck; these were the Cantabri, who slew their old men as soon as their hands could no longer hold a sword, and who delighted in drinking horse's blood; and the Astures, who painted their faces, like Indians, to make themselves more terrible, and who had no clothes but the skins of the wild-beasts which had fallen before them. If they were captured they never resigned themselves to servitude. When they were crucified they sang in their agony, and the women killed their children to save them from slavery.

Spain had long been a mine for Roman magistrates to work. These greedy prætors maintained a state of order, however, by which commerce greatly profited; and some of them had made themselves honoured by useful works. We have spoken of the places founded by Scipio (*Italica*), Marcellus (*Corduba*), Sempronius Gracchus (*Gracchuris*), Brutus (*Valentia*), and Pompey, who had freely distributed the right of citizenship in Spain. At the mouth of the Bætis, one, Cæpio, had built an admirable tower on the model of the Pharos of Alexandria, to indicate the entrance to the river, which ships could ascend for 1,200 stadia between two banks lined with populous cities. Cæsar, whose glory Spain had espoused, after having twice contested his fortune, had assembled round him all the deputies of the peninsula, established a regular administration and rewarded towns and individuals for their devotion to his cause, that is to say, for the former he increased the number of municipia and colonies, and to the latter he gave the right of citizenship, the gold ring of the equestrian order, and the senatorial laticlave. Many towns had taken his name, and Gades, which claimed to preserve in its temple the bones of Hercules, Gades, the wealthiest of provincial cities, since it reckoned no less than

500 knights, had obtained for all its inhabitants the envied privilege of Roman citizenship. One of them, named C. Balbus, had shortly afterwards become consul. He was the first provincial who had attained that honour, and the first, too, who had ascended to the Capitol in a triumphal robe. Others dared to write in the language of their masters, and Corduba had already given birth to a whole family of poets, whose verses had even reached Rome, where Cicero grew angry at this provincial invasion.

Coin of Gades.

Thus through its southern and eastern populations Spain was rapidly entering into Roman civilization and the imperial unity; Octavius was to regulate this movement and extend it to the centre and north of the peninsula, which still resisted the influence. After the battle of Munda, Sextus Pompey, hidden in the mountains, had lived there some time by brigandage; then as his band increased, he had proudly resumed his name and beaten two of Cæsar's lieutenants. His recall, instigated by Antony, had restored to Spain a peace which was soon broken by the Moorish kings Bogud and Bocchus, who under the names of the two triumvirs fought out their private quarrels. Bogud was driven out; but the Ceretani, his allies, held out for a long time, and their subjection won a triumph for Domitius Calvinus. The two successors of that general obtained the same honour; we know not for what services.

A province whence so many triumph-winners returned was not a quiet country; accordingly it was among the first to receive the attention of Octavius. There at least there were not, as in Gaul, a powerful clergy and strong-rooted doctrines to combat. In strange contrast with that exalted devotion which we are inclined to consider as the fundamental trait of the Spanish character, the religious sentiment was so little developed among the greater part of these tribes that Strabo went so far as to doubt whether they had any gods. But it is true if we look carefully into the history of Spain, we see that religion has there always been a form of patriotism.

Gaul.—On the north of the Pyrenees the Iberi peopled Aquitania, which, being surrounded by Gallia Narbonensis and Toulouse, two centres of Roman civilization, and by Bordeaux,

which was soon to become so, was about to change its thatched huts for brilliant villas. On the east it touched upon Gallia Narbonensis, where Rome and Marseilles had worked in concert to obliterate among the indigenous population the traces of its double origin, Iberian and Celtic, the one by its great settlements of Aquæ Sextiæ and Narbo, the other by the factories with which it had lined the coast, and by its schools, which led young Romans to neglect the voyage to Athens. At Marseilles, says Tacitus, "the elegance of the Greeks is happily blended with the austerity of provincial manners." A grandson of Augustus, Lucius Cæsar, and Agricola were educated in its public schools. As for Narbo, which Strabo calls the port of all Gaul, it had already given birth to an epic poet, Varro Atacinus, and the Vocontian Trogus Pompey was writing or preparing his great *Universal History*.

Fragment of a Statue found in Gallia Narbonensis.[1]

Being the outpost of Italy and the guardian of communications with Spain, Gallia Narbonensis was considered, even before Cæsar's time, one of the most important possessions of the Republic. Since the conquest of Celtica, the security enjoyed on the banks of the Rhone, and the vicinity of the new province to prey upon, had attracted a crowd of speculators into "toga-wearing Gaul." Thus it soon became the garden, as it were, of Italy; every wealthy Roman was anxious to have a domain there.

The docility of the Gauls in accepting the yoke has been too much exaggerated by contrasting the Spanish constancy with their ready resignation. Eight years, it is said, had sufficed to lay Gaul at Cæsar's feet. This was because the Iberi had prolonged the war by breaking it up into small divisions; they had not fought a single battle, but they had engaged in many skirmishes.

[1] Small mutilated statue, preserved in the Museum of Toulouse, and representing an old African fisherman. It was found at Martres (Haute-Garonne). (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 880, No. 2248.)

Gaul, which had risen as a whole, had also been overthrown as a whole. The two nations already displayed the two characteristics, the one of isolation, the other of ready association, which they drew from their native soil, and have always retained. Let us also throw into the balance the sword of the conqueror. Spain had not to defend itself against Cæsar.

By passing under the Roman sway the Gauls had lost little and gained much. The existence continually disturbed by the ambition of the chiefs of clans, the religion of terror maintained by the Druids, the ceaselessly renewed wars among the tribes, and the perpetual threat of Germanic invasions were succeeded by the calm life of a regular form of society, a tolerant religion, security on the frontiers, and everywhere the Roman peace, which soon stifled regret for lost independence. Cæsar had employed against them a weapon which proconsul's very rarely used. After victory he showed himself merciful and kind; and accordingly long-haired Gaul gave him the bravest children, her Ruthenian archers, her light foot-soldiers of Aquitania and Arvernia, her heavy infantry of Belgica, and her bold horsemen, of whom thirty were enough to put to flight 2,000 Numidians, and 400 appeared to Cleopatra and Herod to be worth an army. And while they were fighting for the dictator in Greece, Africa or Spain, their fathers and brothers tilled the ground and traded with that ardour for peaceful labours which always bursts forth at the close of long wars. "That Gaul," says Marc Antony, "which sent us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, is now subdued and as well cultivated in every part as Italy itself. Its rivers are covered with vessels, not only the Rhone and the Saône, but the Meuse, the Loire, the very Rhine itself and the ocean." Antony, or rather Dion, who composed this speech, no doubt says too much; but it is certain that the transformation which was about to make Gaul the wealthiest province of the Empire had already begun.

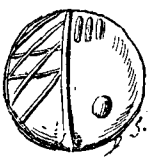
This fruitful activity and the prosperity consequent upon it were the result of Rome's obliviousness of her conquest. Too grave interests were in question elsewhere for Gaul to be called upon for anything save to furnish her contingent and her tribute. First assigned to Antony's share, she scarcely noticed the treachery of Calenus, which delivered her to the other triumvir.

But when the treaty of Misenum had given Octavius a short respite, the new master of the Gauls was desirous of making them feel Rome's influence more nearly, for he was already renouncing the triumviral acts of violence to commence that which was the great business of his life, the reorganization of the Empire. Forthwith war broke out in all directions; the whole of Aquitania rose in arms, and the Germans, secretly summoned by the Belgæ, crossed the Rhine. Fortunately Agrippa was there. He beat the rebels, and making a resource of what seemed a peril, he settled two Germanic tribes, the Ubii and the Tongri, who were implacable enemies of the Suevi and Catti, on the left bank of the Rhine, near Cologne, to guard the passage of the river, repeople the country left desert by the destruction of the Eburones, separate the Belgæ from the Germans, and form between the two nations, who too frequently summoned each other, a colony on which Rome could rely (37 B.C.). But the war had already begun again in Italy, and Octavius recalled his able general to help him to conquer Sextus, and afterwards Antony. Meanwhile the Gauls, like other provincials of the West, preserved, under cover of Rome's troubles, a kind of half-liberty, and with it the Druidic beliefs, and the national language and manners, which nothing had as yet seriously shaken.

Mountaineers of the Alps.—To the west the Roman possessions were, then, clearly defined; the Atlantic was their boundary. On the north the line would be less easy to trace. The Alps did not only enclose Italy; the mountains of Illyria and the Hæmus, which bound Greece and Thrace on the north, are an eastern extension of them. In the last century several Roman armies had crossed this lofty barrier and penetrated into Noricum, Pannonia and Mœsia, but without success, for it was evident that there would be no lasting conquest in the valley of the Danube as long as the mountaineers could suddenly close the passes. Now the senate had never occupied with its legions this great chain.

If in the Western Alps the roads were almost free, in the Pennine Alps they were only to be opened by paying heavy tolls and undergoing serious dangers. After the rough lesson which he had given the Helvetii, Cæsar had sent the remnant of that nation back to its cantons, that the approaches of the great Alps

might be guarded against the Germans by tribes henceforward faithful. In order to complete the investment of these mountains, he had been desirous of also subduing the upper portion of the Rhone valley, which would have carried the bounds of his province to the very summit of the Alps and the passes by which Cisalpine Gaul might be reached. But his lieutenant, Galba, had been obliged to retreat before a rising of all the tribes of Valais. Even on the Italian slope, in the basin of the Duria, the Salassi would allow no approach to their gold mines; they had quite recently made the soldiers of Decimus Brutus pay a drachme a head for a passage through their mountains. Cottius and his fourteen tribes were independent in the valleys of Mont Cenis, the long-haired Ligures in those of the Maritime Alps, and the mountaineers of Apennine Liguria still inspired fear enough to prevent their venturing to include them in Cisalpine Gaul. "Every year," says Strabo, "a governor of the equestrian order is sent to them, as is done with respect to other nations absolutely barbarous."



Gold Coin of the Salassi.[1]

The tribes of the Rhætian Alps were still less tractable and more hardy. Their bands, and especially those of the Rhæti and Vindelici, suddenly arriving by the upper valleys of the Adige and Adda, laid waste the lowlands; they even attacked the towns, slew the men and even the women whom their diviners supposed to be great with male children. These savage incursions, which make one think of the devastations of the Indians in the New World, were a disgrace to Italy. But antiquity did not esteem very highly the security which we so much prize. The governors troubled themselves little about anything that was not serious warfare, and to act as police of the Empire was their least care. Against such dangers, towns, like individuals, should know how to defend themselves. Rome left both just sufficient liberty of action to make her think herself free from any necessity of watching and acting in their place. Even under Augustus the Corsicans and Sardinians ceaselessly plundered the coasts of Tuscany and Liguria; Strabo says of Ortonium, a town of the Frentani: "It is a rock inhabited by robbers, who live like wild beasts, and only

[1] This coin represents the instruments used for washing gold, the source of wealth of the Salassi.

build their houses with the remains of ships' wrecks." The island of Lade, opposite Miletus, was the usual resort of the pirates who swept the Ægean Sea; Dalmatia was long renowned for its banditti, and the Taurus was so always.

To the east, where the chain of the Alps were less lofty, the roads became less difficult. They led directly into the valley of the Danube. The Republic had a great interest in watching over these regions through which the Cimbri had come, and where there surged a confused mass of warlike tribes, whose vicinity kept up the spirit of resistance among the Illyrians and Dalmatians. But the senate had long forgotten the foreseeing policy which had formerly led them to watch that direction. They allowed the Norici and Taurisci to join the Rhæti in their brigandage, and the Carni to ravage the valley of the Tagliamento. Two Roman colonies, Aquileia and Tergeste, had been established, however, in those latitudes. But the territory of the one was continually devastated, and the other had just been pillaged by the Iapodes, a brave and fierce nation settled in the Julian Alps, whence they kept all their neighbours in terror; twice in twenty years had they repulsed the Roman troops; a little further on the Pannonians had given a general who ventured amongst them such a reception that all Italy had been terrified at the disaster. From that day no consul had been found who dared cross their frontier.

In Illyria the situation was no better.[1] The Illyrians had been the first people attacked by the Republic outside Italy, and they had not yet resigned themselves to remain docile subjects of Rome; they could therefore dispute with the Spaniards the glory of a prolonged resistance. In spite of the nearness of Greece and Italy, civilization had obtained little hold upon these barbarians, who tattooed themselves like the Picts and Thracians, were ignorant of the use of money, and made a fresh division of the land every eight years. To free the Adriatic of their piracies, the most turbulent among them had been sent away from the coast, and, driven back into the mountains, had there kept their love of independence. Gabinius, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, tried to pass

[1] Illyria seems to have formed a province distinct from Macedonia from the year 118; it was separated from Cisalpine Gaul by the little river Formio (the Risamo, to the south of Trieste).

round the Adriatic with fifteen cohorts and 3,000 horse. The Illyrians attacked him, and of all that army the leader was almost the only one who escaped. Pharsalia, Thapsus and Munda intimidated them, however; their deputies appeared at Rome before

Disc of Aquileia[1] (p. 560).

Cæsar, loudly vaunted their race and their exploits, and demanded the friendship of the Roman people. The dictator exacted a tribute and hostages; they promised them; but when Cæsar was dead they refused everything, and when Vatinius threatened them with

[1] Museum of Vienna (published by the *Annali dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, vol. xi. p. 78). This silver disc with gold added, which has almost disappeared, shows Proserpine restored to her heavenly family; above, Jupiter; between the sky and earth, Ceres holding a lighted torch, a symbol of the life she rekindles in nature; Proserpine, crowned with ears of corn, looking at her mother, whom she has just found again; Hecate(?), who has helped her to escape from Hades, leans upon her shoulder; in the centre, Triptolemus, who is about to bear forth through all the earth the gifts of Ceres; behind him the chariot of the goddess drawn by two serpents which are fed by two virgins, daughters of Celeus, the father of Triptolemus, and the olive tree beneath the shade of which Ceres rested near Eleusis; and finally, in the lower part, Mother Earth with an ox, the great means of agriculture.

three legions and a number of cavalry, they slew five of his cohorts and drove him back in disorder upon Epidamnus.

Such was, about the time when the Republic drew to an end, the state of the northern frontier. All the Alpine chain was held by plundering tribes, not very dangerous, certainly, but harassing, which stopped civilization at the foot of their mountains. Though they bordered upon the sacred soil of Italy, no regular expedition had been directed against them; no man was desirous of undertaking these obscure wars, in which there was neither glory nor spoil to be won.

Octavius thought of doing it; some time before Actium he had undertaken the task of reducing these mountaineers to subjection. It had cost him nearly two years of personal fatigues and dangers; twice he had run the risk of his life, and had received honourable wounds; for he had been desirous of searching out all the resorts of these heroic bandits one by one, razing their strongholds, taking their hostages, and finally condemning them to rest and fear. The Dalmatians had given up the standards of Gabinius, and the Liburni, the vessels which served them for cruising. If the Salassi had obliged him to treat with them, the Iapodes had been subdued, the Carni and Taurisci punished, and even Pannonia invaded, notwithstanding its 100,000 warriors. The strong city of Segesta, on the Save, being carried by assault, was occupied by twenty-five cohorts as an outpost against German and Dacian barbarism. As all eyes were at that time fixed upon Rome and Alexandria, these expeditions had passed unnoticed. Yet in these wars, Octavius began what Augustus was to complete; he took possession of the Alpine chain, and in order to guard it better he advanced as far as the Danube.

III.—Hellenistic Countries.

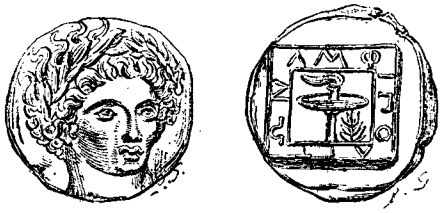
Macedonia and Greece.—If the eastern peninsula has its Alps in Mount Hæmus (the Balkans), it has also its Apennines in Pindus, a broad wall running straight to the south, which allows but a few footpaths across its summit, and at one point only, Klissoura, in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, a road easily

practicable. Dalmatia and Epirus were to the west upon the slope leading down to the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thessaly to the east, towards the Ægean Sea. At its southern extremity this chain breaks up into many branches, shooting forth their countless headlands into three seas, and forming the chaos of mountains and valleys which is called Greece.

Enclosed in its quadrilateral of mountains, Macedonia was the fortress whence Rome watched over and restrained, not Greece, where there were no peoples left to restrain, but the reckless tribes on the Danube, which were ever ready to resume the route of the Gallic brenn towards Delphi. Many generals had returned from that province to receive a triumph for obscure victories over these unpleasant neighbours. As soon as the hand of Rome ceased to press upon them, they flocked back again, plundering and slaying. On the eve of the foundation of the Empire, the Thracians had descended upon Macedonia, cut the great military road which traversed the province, and spread such terror as far as Thessalonica that the inhabitants had begun to raise their walls again as though the sword of Rome no longer protected them. Yet these barbarians had a poetic custom which we have kept up; they scattered roses on the ground which covered their dead.

Coin of Thessalonica.[1]

The strict order which Octavius had begun to keep in Illyria was of advantage to Macedonia. To the north, the Dardanians, formerly very much dreaded in the valley of the *Axios* (Vardar), were reduced to such a state of misery that their only dwellings were huts dug out beneath dung heaps. On the east the Thracians were really only formidable so long as they were feared. Macedonia could thus, as soon as a firm hand should maintain order, develop its riches. After Cæsar's death, its warlike population had given Brutus two legions which

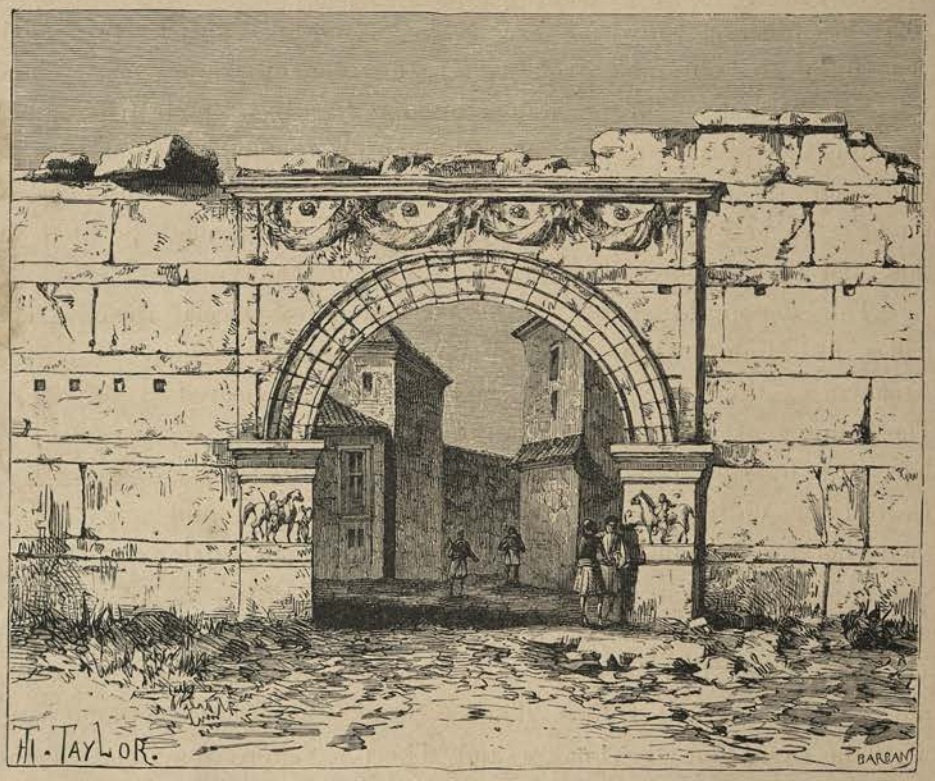


Coin of Amphipolis.[2]

[1] ΚΑΒΙΡΟC; Cabirus standing. Reverse of a bronze coin of Thessalonica.

[2] Head of Apollo with laurels. On the reverse, ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, a torch and a branch in a hollow square. Silver coin of Amphipolis.

he trained in the Roman tactics. Before the battle of Philippi, which was fought on its frontier, it had to maintain the armies of Octavius and Antony. It does not seem, however, to have been hardly treated by the victors; Thessalonica was already its chief town, and Amphipolis the second, and they both bore the title of free cities, which privilege was also granted to the Dyrrachium, to Abdera, to several tribes in the interior and to the islands of



Gateway of the Vardar at Thessalonica.[1]

Thasos and Samothrace. But Pella, its former capital, sank into a mere village.

"Formerly," says Strabo, "Epirus was occupied by a great number of valiant nations; at present the greater part of its cantons are deserted and its towns destroyed. There remain only villages and hovels, and this desolation, which was begun long ago, still continues." Varro finds something to praise in it,

[1] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 22 *bis*.

however. "The slaves of Epirus," says he, "are the best and the dearest;" a sad reputation, indeed, for the descendants of the soldiers of Pyrrhus! This country, covered as it is with mountains, which run to the very shore, has none of those rich plains surrounding a harbour which the Greek colonists loved; accordingly but few had come to this coast. Having little wheat, the Epirotes lived in scattered villages upon the produce of their flocks. To this very day Janina still sends to Thessaly for its flour, whence it is brought on the backs of asses or mules, whilst fruits and vegetables are obtained from Arta, the ancient Ambracia. There was but little life except along the *Via Egnetia* which had passed through the province, and at Dyrrachium, which was Pompey's head-quarters, and on that account compromised in the eyes of Cæsar's friends. Apollonia, further to the south, had profited by this, and its schools had received the young Octavius.

This depopulation of Epirus extended to Greece itself. The tribes of Mount Œta were almost annihilated; the Athamanes, their neighbours, had quite disappeared. The country of the Acarnanians and Ætolia, which are separated by the Acheloüs, were changed into deserts. Instead of cultivated fields, there were only found there, as in Arcadia, pasture lands over which cattle and horses roamed at will. In spite of the fertility of its fields and the liberty for which it was indebted to Cæsar, Thessaly, which had so often served as a battlefield, saw its towns fall into ruins. In Hellas, Thebes was only a large village, and with the exception of Tanagra and Thespiæ, there remained of the towns of Bœotia nought but their ruins and their names. One town of Phocis however was to enjoy an envied privilege; the oil of Tithorea was to be reserved for the table of the emperors. Megara still existed, but that was all. The Piræus, whose harbour formerly sheltered 300 war-vessels, was a poor little village; Munychia had been dismantled, the Long Walls thrown down, and Athens still suffered from the blows which Sylla had dealt it.

Coin of Samothrace.

During the civil wars Athens had been on the side of the vanquished, as she always had been since Chæronea, but she escaped with slight sacrifices. Like Alexander, Romans of all

parties respected the city of the Muses;[1] they even allowed her to boast of having succoured Rome in her perils, and of erecting a tomb to the soldiers who had fallen in these imaginary expeditions, just as they allowed the Achæans to carve beneath the statue of Polybius that if the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia had been the arm which struck, the son of Lycortas was the head that guided the blow. But every now and then some dissatisfied consul reminded the people of Athene, with insulting frankness, that there were no longer any Athenians at Athens, that it only contained a mob of adventurers from all nations. Others again, and this was a graver matter, said that it was no longer any use going to the Pnyx to hear the beautiful language of Demosthenes and Æschylus; the pure idiom was changed in the mouths of these foreigners. Accordingly, the schools of Rhodes, Marseilles and Ephesus seriously injured the rhetors of Athens by their rival attractions.

Terra-Cotta of Tanagra; Hero with Helmet.[2]

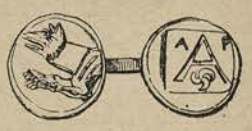
[1] Antony (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 66) and Germanicus (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 53) retained only one lictor on entering Athens, a free and federated city. Before Pharsalia, Cæsar and Pompey had caused a herald to proclaim *αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν θεσμοφόρων.* (App., *ibid.*, ii. 70.) Antony gave them Ægina, Teos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos. (App., *ibid.*, v. 7.) They also possessed Salamis, Haliartus in Bœotia (Strabo, ix. p. 411), Eretria in Eubœa, Delos (*id.*, x. p. 486), where the traders had settled who were forced to quit Corinth, and where a fair was held which attracted many Romans.

[2] *Gazette archéol.*, 1878, pl. 21. Mr. S. Trivier justly remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 117 *sq.*) that representations of men are very rare among the numerous and beautiful figures of Bœotia.

Doric Temple—the only Remains of Ancient Corinth.

It still remained, however, the refuge of the old pagan spirit, the chief centre of Hellenism and philosophy.[1] In vain would St. Paul tell the degenerate disciples of Socrates and Plato who the unknown god was, to whom their fathers raised altars; his voice would find no echo at the foot of the Parthenon. But it would be more readily listened to in the new Corinth, rebuilt by Cæsar and Augustus; there the Apostle was to win many recruits, yet fewer in number than the band who by their proverbial effeminacy gained for this city of commerce and pleasure the name of "Perfumed Corinth."

Polybius said he would not give 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. How much had not its wretchedness increased since then? Many a town there was too poor even to support the expenses of official adulation. Did it become necessary to do honour to a powerful Roman, some old statue was scraped over, some hero of past times was polished up, and Orestes became Octavius. Nor was any greater expenditure incurred for the gods. At Argos the roof of the temple of Demeter fell in; to rebuild it would have been costly; so in the interior of the sumptuous edifice erected by their fathers the children built a temple of brick. The goddess might very well dwell in a humble chapel when her people had nothing but ruins to live in.



Coin of Argos.[2]

Of the twelve towns of the Achæa, five were either destroyed or deserted. "As Arcadia is wholly devastated," says Strabo, "it would be useless to give a long description of it." Tegea alone retained a little life; Octavius had just robbed it of an ivory statue of

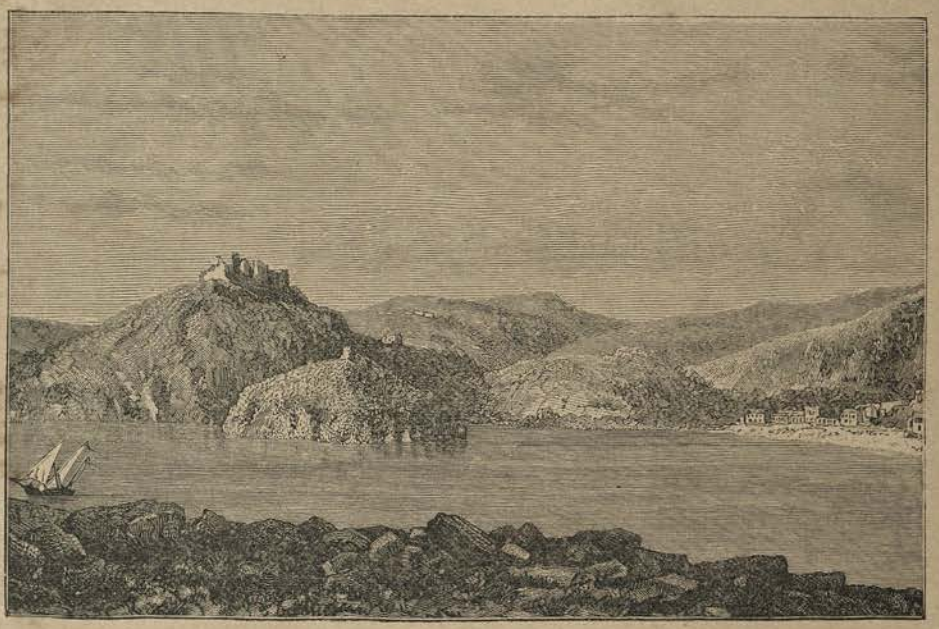
Coin of Messina.[3]

[1] Pausan., I. xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 6. Josephus somewhere calls it the most religious of pagan cities, and Athenæus Ἑλλάδος μυστῆριον, ἑστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον. (v. 12; vi. 65.)

[2] Fore part of a wolf. On the reverse, AP (Argos), a large A, and the *triquetra* in a hollow square. Drachme of Argos.

[3] Head of Ceres crowned with wheat and ΣΩ. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ (the name of the Messenians) and ΝΕΩΝ ΑΡΙ (the names of magistrates); Jupiter standing, brandishing his thunderbolt in his right hand and in the left bearing an eagle; in front of the god, a tripod. Tetradrachm of the Messenians.

Athene and a relic of mythologic times, the tusks of the Calydonian boar. Messenia had only a very few inhabitants left, and Lacedæmon was no longer spoken of save for its manufacture of purple, the best in Europe. What a renown for the descendants of Leonidas! Yet I should prefer it to their fierce virtue of former days, did I not see that Cythera, a former dependency of Lacedæmon, then belonged to a certain Eurycles, and that this possessor of a barren rock was the tyrant, as it were, of the whole



Cythera.

of Laconia. It is true that in the land of the hundred cities there could not now have been counted, besides Sparta, thirty villages. A few years more and Plutarch said: "There are not in all Greece 3,000 soldiers."[1] The town of Megara alone had sent more than that to Platæa.[2] "On my return from Asia," wrote a Roman with melancholy sadness, "I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, and examined the shores stretched around me. Ægina was behind us, Megara in front, on the right the Piræus, on the left Corinth, cities formerly renowned, now dead beneath their ruins."

[1] [He means of course, *hoplites*, a heavy-armed infantry, whose armour was expensive. There must have been a far greater number of light-armed men.—*Ed.*]

[2] The two figurines found at Megara and given on p. 571 are taken from the *Gazette archéol.* 1876, pl. 15.

Terra-Cotta Figure found at Megara (Hebe).

Nemesis in the Vatican.

Terra-Cotta Figure found at Megara (Aphrodite).

"Greece," says another, "is no longer aught but the great tomb of a great past."[1]

The ruin of the cities was the ruin of the temples too; the Pythoness was dumb; the Amphictyonies[2] no longer met. For the providing of games and crowns for the Olympic stadium Greece was indebted to the charity of a king of the Jews.

With the national festivals fell the last bonds which held the Greek cities together in a national body. Octavius invited them, it is true, to his Actian games, the management of which he gave to the Lacedæmonians. But what had they to do with that almost barbarous Acarnania, which they scarcely knew of in the times of their independence, and where foreign hands would distribute the crowns? Yet Greece—this poor forlorn queen, proudly drapes herself in her rags; through the rents in her mantle her pride is seen; she deems herself nobler than her masters, and it is a condescension that she ceases to call them barbarians.

Coin of Lacedæmon.[3]

Montesquieu has laid this decadence to the charge of Rome; but the Romans could not restore to aged Greece the fair days of her youth or the creative spirit which had given birth to so many masterpieces; their historic duty was to summon new nations to share in the harvest sown by the artists, the poets, and the philosophers of Hellas. We have seen that the ruin of Greece had begun before the arrival of the legions,[4] and that she was dying because she had carried abroad, without retaining aught for herself, that political and literary life which had made her greatness. Like the hierophant of Eleusis, she had handed the holy torch to neophytes. They passed it from hand to hand, and the sacred road was lighted afar by its blaze, but darkness

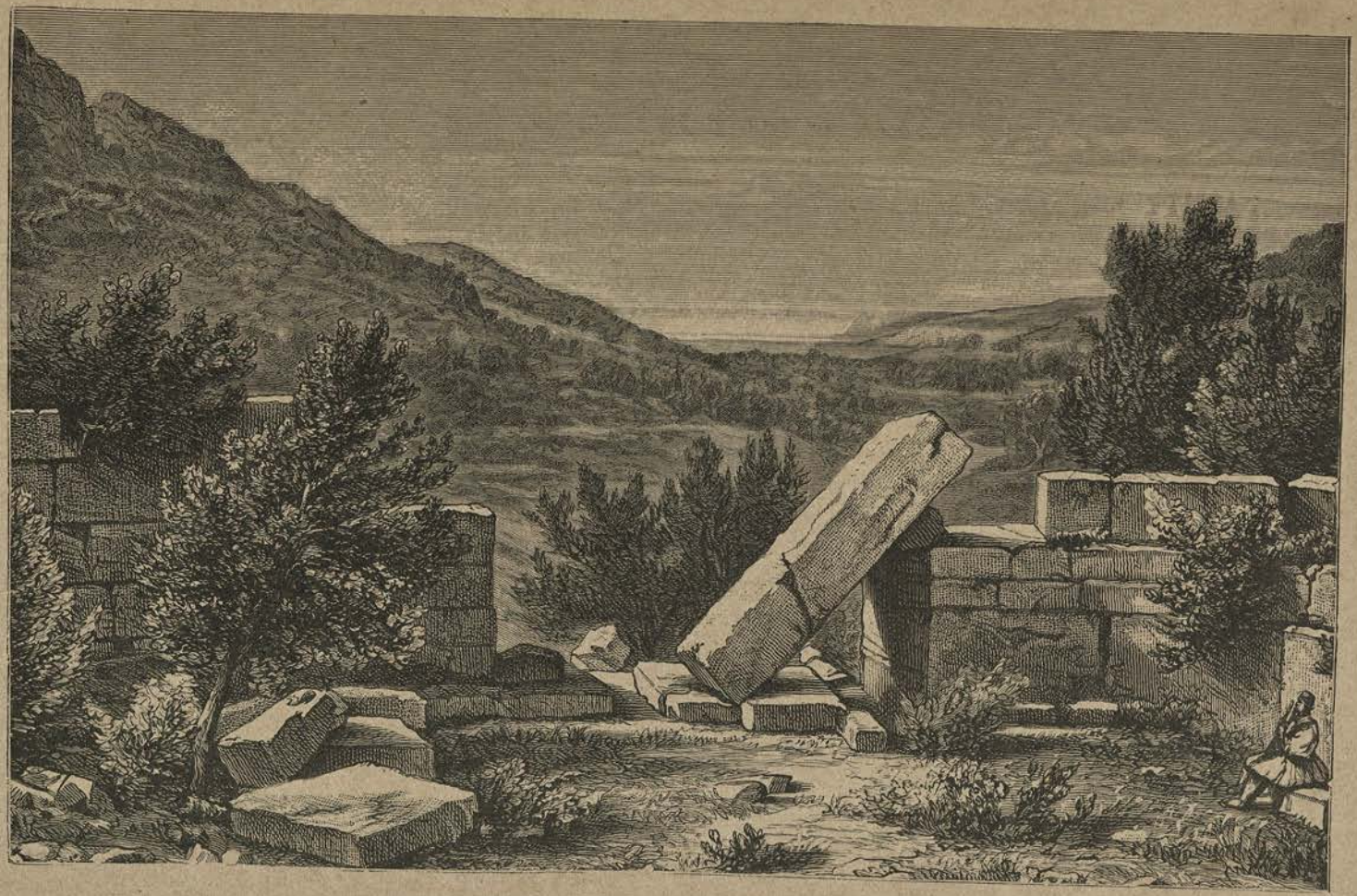
[1] *Magnarum rerum magna sepulcra vides.* (Petron., *Poet. Fragments*; Cf. Huistin, *op. laud.*, p. 203.)

[2] The temple of Delphi is very poor, says Strabo (ix. p. 420), and there is no longer any Amphictyonic Council. This writer was in Greece at the very period of which we are speaking, in the year 29 B.C.

[3] AA (Lacedæmon) ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΣ; club; the whole enclosed in a wreath. Bronze coin of Lacedæmon.

[4] See vol. ii. p. 8 *sq.*

[5] [This splendid gate belongs to the great circuit of walls built by Epaminondas for the new Messene, and looks north towards Arcadia. It is one of the finest extant specimens of Hellenic masonry. Mount Ithome rises to the left of the view.—*Ed.*]



The Arcadian Gate at Messene (see p. 569).

fell upon the temple; silence and solitude possessed it. In order to have something to describe in this glorious land, Strabo is obliged to people its loneliness with recollections. It is not the Greece of Augustus but of Homer that he sees and questions. The former no longer existed; the latter still lived in the immortal poem.

Sicily and the Greek Islands.—All the Greeks of Europe seemed at this time to be given up to the jealous deity, that Nemesis, whom the ancients believed to be angered at fortunes that rose too high, but whose wrath is but the inevitable expiation of faults committed in prosperity."[1] "Magna-Grecia," exclaims Cicero, "formerly so flourishing and wealthy, and now so desolate!" . . . . "Whosoever wishes to see deserts," says Seneca, "let him go into Lucania and Bruttium." So much for Italian Greece.

When Theocritus sang at Syracuse of the wise king Hiero and the calm happiness of Sicilian country scenes, the great island had been freed from the Carthaginians, and had not yet been ravaged by the Roman proconsuls. But that was nearly 200 years ago; and since then it had grown poorer with every generation. The northern coast, facing Italy, was, as it still is, the most thickly peopled; Panormus, Segesta, which claimed relationship with Rome, and further west Lilybæum, held the highest rank there. Save for Agrigentum, which had once more risen to life, the coast on the African side was covered with old ruins dating from the Punic wars; the struggle with Sextus Pompey had made fresh ones on the east coast, the insurrection of the slaves in the interior, and the pirates everywhere. A mere farm of the Roman people, possessed by masters who spent far away the gold with which its fruitful soil supplied them, it no longer possessed a court, or princes, or rich citizens to offer to genius the sumptuous hospitality which Hiero had extended to Pindar, Simonides, Æschylus and Epicharmus; and the Muses were silent with terror amid this population of fierce herdsmen who preserved the

Coin of Panormus.[2]

[1] We give on p. 571 the Nemesis of the Vatican, a statue in Grecian marble found at Tivoli on the site of the Villa Hadriana. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii., pl. 13.) For the explanation of the attitude of the figures of Nemesis, see above, p. 322.

[2] ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤ; head of Apollo with laurels, facing right. Silver coin of Panormus.

threatening memory of Eunus and Athenion. "Lately," says Strabo, "while I was at Rome, a certain Silurus was brought thither, who called himself the son of Ætna. At the head of a numerous band he had long laid waste all the country round the mountains. He was exposed in the amphitheatre, during a combat of gladiators, on a high platform representing Ætna. When the combat was ended the mountain gave way, and the son of Ætna found himself precipitated among wild beasts, which tore him to pieces."

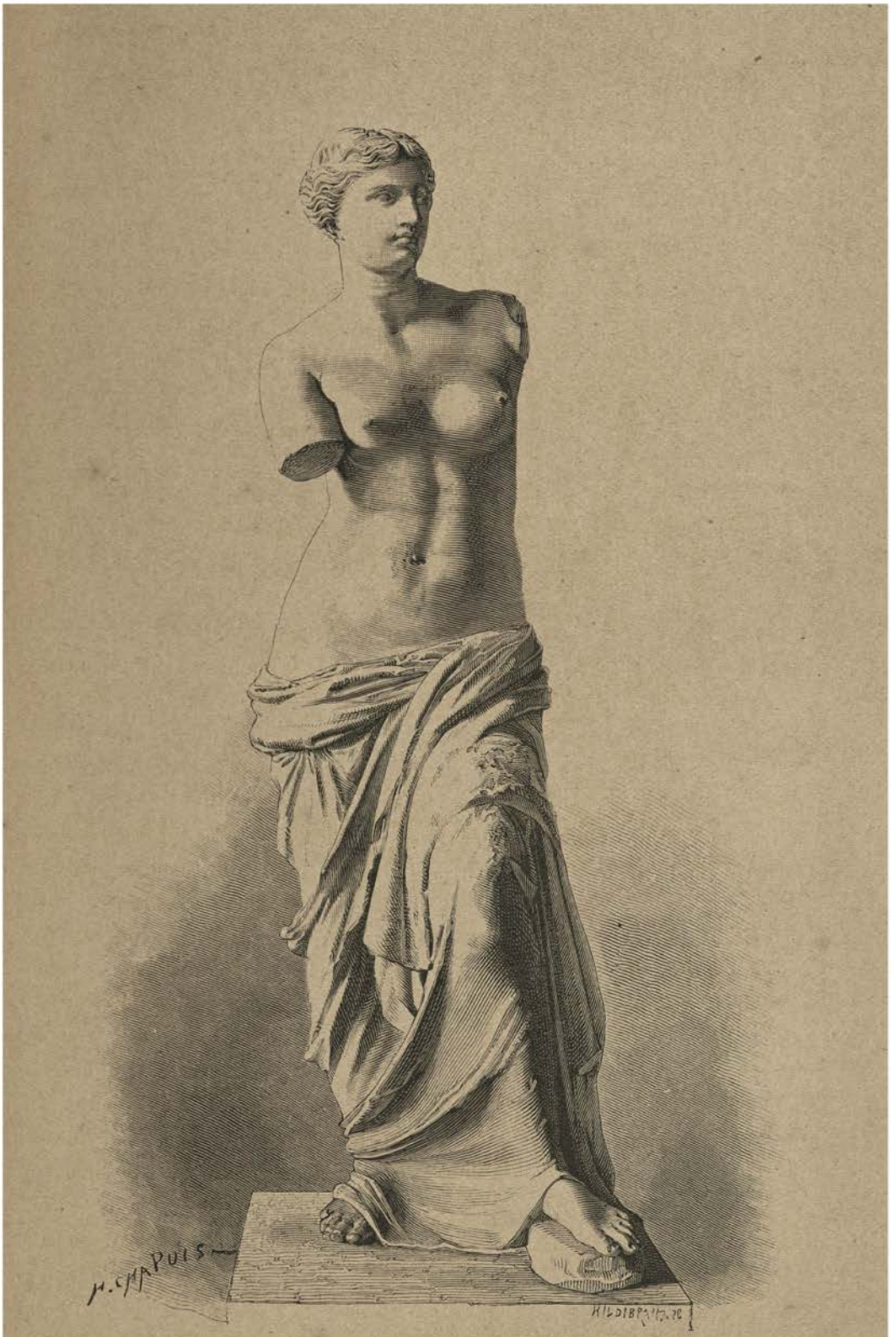
Fragment discovered in the Recent Excavations in Delos.[1]

Then as now the traveller going from Italy to Greece stopped at Corfu and Zante, the one a magnificent commercial and military station, the other fully deserving of the name which sailors give it, *Fiore di Levante*. I have found it covered with flowers in the gloomiest of our winter months.

From Corfu three routes led to Asia and Eastern Africa. One could go northwards as far as Dyrrachium, the head of the great *Egnatian Way*, which ran to Lysimachia and Byzantium; or by the gulf of Corinth and Attica one could reach the Cyclades, scattered over the Ægean like a necklace of sea pearls round Delos, the smallest but most famous among them. On these resounding waves which echoed the heroic names of ancient Greece, the sailor sailed, without losing sight of land, from Delos, where Apollo and Diana were born, to Naxos and Andros, the sacred isles of Bacchus; from Paros, whose marble

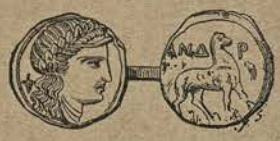
[1] This fragment, executed in good style, was discovered in the excavations made at Delos by M. Homolle. It represents the abduction of a woman. (*Bulletin de corresp. Hellén.*, VIII., third year, December, 1879, pl. xi.)

[2] [This famous statue, which is among the few *originals* preserved to us, was apparently the statue set up in the temple at Melos, and was executed not in the great Phidian days, but by Alexandros of Antioch, in the third century B.C., when there was a splendid renaissance in Greek sculpture, and men went back to the great models of the best epoch. Cf. Perry's *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 600.—*Ed.*]



Venus of Milo (see p. 579).[2]

rivalled that of Pentelicus, to Melos (Milo), which has preserved for us the masterpiece of Greek sculpture; but he avoided the gloomy Gyaros, whose naked rocks replaced for the exiles of the Empire these delightful abodes at Tibur and Præneste, where men had lived who were banished during the Republic.



Coin of Andros.[1]

Further on, the great islands of the Asiatic coast, Lesbos, Chios, wealthy enough to pay the king of Pontus a ransom of 2,000 talents; Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, where the fortunes of Mithridates had ended, had promptly repaired their losses, and the Roman magistrates on their way to the eastern provinces willingly stopped in these fertile islands, where, beneath a delightful climate, Greek life expanded amid every kind of seduction.[3]

Coin of Paros.[2]

The governors of Crete, Cyrenaica, and Egypt went further south. From Cape Malea, at the extremity of the Peloponnesus, they could see the snowy summits of Crete; from that large island they reached Cyrene in two days' sail, and Alexandria in four.

Coin of Samos.[4]

By its fertility Crete won the surname of the *Isle of the Blest*, and Aristotle said of it that no position was ever more favourable for the establishment of a great [naval] empire, a fortune which it never realized save in mythologic times, when Jupiter was born and Minos reigned there, and it was called the Land of the Hundred Cities. Here then men have given the lie to nature. Since the heroic age Crete had lived in the shade; we hear of nothing [but constant wars and feuds, which gave the Greeks of Philopœmen's time a ready school for the art of war]. Even from the time of the Peloponnesian war it had been the haunt of pirates, and all

[1] Bust of Bacchus or of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy; behind him, a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, ΑΝΔΡ . . . ., and a panther. Silver coin of Andros.

[2] Head of a woman bound with fillet. On the reverse, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ ΠΑΡΙ; goat standing. Silver coin of Paros.

[3] Piso, going to Syria, went from Athens to Rhodes by the islands; Germanicus from Eubœa to Lesbos, and thence to Troas in order to reach the Propontis. (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 53–4.)

[4] Lion's face. Silver coin of Samos.

parties found courage for hire there. The Cretans retained these habits as long as their independence lasted; their archers served in all armies, and their corsairs drew upon them the anger of Rome. Metellus compelled them (66) to give up their vessels, though they had bravely maintained the struggle, killed a prætor, and held out for three years. But it cost them dear. Several towns which had fallen under the heavy hand of Rome rose no more, and the richest tracts of the island were taken into the domain of the Roman people. One day, soon after the defeat of Sextus, when Octavius was in a generous mood, he gave Capua lands in Crete, near Cnossus, bringing in a revenue of 1,200,000 sesterces, and the Capuans still held them three centuries later.

Crete, with Cyrenaica, formed one province. "They whose maritime skill was proverbial," says Strabo, "have not a single ship."

Greek Cities of Thrace and the Euxine.—On the north of the Ægean Sea, in Thrace, the Greek colonies had lined the whole coast, from the mouth of the Strymon to that of the Danube. Of so many cities what was left? "The Thracians," says Appian, "had retreated from the coasts for fear of pirates; the Greeks took possession of them and made them prosperous in agriculture and commerce. Philip of Macedon drove them away, so that nothing was to be seen save the ruins of the temples they had built." Some Greeks however, were still found on that coast; at Abdera, a town proud of its great men in spite of its poor reputation for wit; at Maroneia, at Ænos, on the ancient road leading to Asia; and finally, at Cardia and Lysimacheia, which guarded the entrance to the Thracian Chersonesus, now Agrippa's property; but all these towns were in a wretched state. When Macedonia once more became a flourishing province, when the new capital of the Empire arose at the other extremity of the country, then Thrace, situated in its centre, in its turn came to possess rich and populous cities; for the present, commerce and travellers avoided it.

Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.[1]

The shores of the Propontis and its straits were more full of

[1] XEP.: head of Minerva with helmet; the whole in a hollow square. Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.

Defile of Haghia-Roumeli, in Crete.

life. Byzantium, occupying one of the most admirable sites in the world, commanded the commerce of the Black Sea, which stopped in her harbour even when it did not pass entirely into her hands. She gathered still further wealth from the productive fisheries of the Euxine, the profits of which the Romans obliged her to share with them, though they left her free. This liberty, of which they had the good sense not to show themselves jealous, freed them from the troubles of an occupation without allowing the Byzantines a risky independence. The governors of Bithynia were charged to keep a watch over them, and another check upon them was the property which they possessed in Mysia, under the immediate power of Rome.

Coin of Byzantium.[1]

The commerce of the East then followed two routes; the southern one by the Persian Gulf or Red Sea, and the northern one by the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Caucasian isthmus. The Arabs and Alexandrian Greeks pursued the former; the Greeks of Asia Minor had adopted the latter; all the shores of the Black Sea were lined with their colonies; Miletus alone was said to have founded 300 factories there, some of which had become wealthy cities, and in the Tauric Chersonesus was the flourishing kingdom of the Bosphorus. The civilized world seemed however, to end at Byzantium; beyond that appeared barbarism, wild inhabitants, tribes living by wrecking and the plunder of ships washed ashore. Thus sailors arriving from the Palus Mæotis, whom the fear of the storms of the Euxine compelled to range along these inhospitable coasts, addressed thanksgivings to Jupiter Urio when they discovered his temple on the Asiatic coast, at the entrance of the Bosphorus.[2]

IV.—Provinces in Asia.

Asia Minor.—Asia Minor advances like a huge promontory between the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus, driving back before it

[1] ΠΥ ΕΠΙ ΣΦΟΔΡΙ (name of magistrate); Neptune seated on a rock holding the trident and the *acrostolium* or ornament which ended off the prows of vessels, in this case a statuette. Silver coin of Byzantium.

[2] [This was more on account of perils by sea than from barbarians. Dio Chrys. about this

the waves of the Ægean. If we limit Asia Minor to a line drawn from Trapezus to the Gulf of Issus, it will form a peninsula almost equal in extent to France, and divided into two wholly distinct regions, the centre occupied by plateaux, all around it the

City Gate at Patara.[1]

mountain region, the latter covering a space double that of the former.[2]

The most beautiful parts of the peninsula are in the

period draws a pleasant picture of the Hellenic life still surviving round these remote coasts. —*Ed.*]

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii., pl. 225.

[2] The region of plateaux consists of a series of slight undulating or perfectly level plains, covered with volcanic tufa and innumerable fragments of lava. Between these plains run mountains, forming as it were, so many natural barriers, yet leaving them a common conformation; there is an almost complete absence of arborescent vegetation, and the climate is rather severe, like that of the north-east of France or Germany, with colder winters and warmer summers. Accordingly there are few vines, no fig or olive trees, none of the trees of southern Europe, but many cereals and much cattle, among which are herds of those Angora goats whose fleece almost equals in beauty that of the goats of Cashmere. At Kaisaria the thermometer often goes down to fifteen degrees below zero, at Angora to ten. (Cf. Tchihatchef, *Voyage dans l'Asie min.*; Fellows, *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, vol. lxxxii. p. 185.)

mountainous regions of the north and south. The mountains are crowned with vast forests, and at their feet stretch rich plains, where the most varied crops flourish. Here and there their sides are hollowed out into broad and deep valleys, or open for the flow of rivers which fall into the Euxine or Ægean Sea. The

Tomb Cut in the Rock at Myra.[1]

fertility of the soil is such that no manure is ever needed, and that this part of the Turkish empire is able to export 100,000 tons of grain to Europe annually. What must the case have been then, when Asia Minor was in the hands of the active and industrious race which in ancient times had taken possession of all the coasts, placed a town on the banks of every river, near every harbour,

Coin of Patara.[2]

Coin of Selge.[3]

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii., pl. 190.

[2] ΛΥΚΙΩΝΠΑ; lyre; the whole in a hollow square. Bronze coin of Patara.

[3] ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ; B; slinger adjusting his sling: in the field, a *triquetra*, club, and cornucopia. Silver coin of Selge.

and in every one of those islands forming the broken arches of the bridge which had once united Greece and Asia? By it came from the East many beliefs, many doctrines, and arts which attained their full development on the two shores of the Ægean Sea; and the Greeks in their turn carried their influence to the very heart of the Taurus valleys, as the vast ruins of Patara, Sagalassos, and Selge bear witness. The monuments left standing speak a history which is mute, and by studying them we recognize the two opposing currents which met and mingled in these provinces. The rock tombs of Myra and in Galatia suggest the royal sepulchres of Persepolis, whereas in Lydia, even among the intractable Pisidians, the temples and theatres are of Hellenic architecture.

Phrygian, apparently in Flight.[1]

Times and manners had caused many and great points of difference between the peoples in whose blood the Aryan and Semitic elements mingled in various proportions. The Phrygian, "more timid than a hare," driven by misery from the dried-up soil on which he dwelt, yearly descended to the coast to hire out his services at the time of olive-gathering, and if matters went ill he sold his children to set himself up again. The Lydian did likewise, and even sold himself for light domestic service. Any service might be demanded of him, even the most disgraceful, provided the work was not too tiring. Since the time of Herodotus this people had been considered the most effeminate in Asia, and that quaint story-teller, being at a loss how to explain this unexampled effeminacy,

[1] Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 779 in the Clarac Catalogue.

set it down as a sort of political institution. At the two extremities of the country, in Caria and at the foot of Mount Olympus, the inhabitants were more manly. The Carians had formerly held sway over the whole of the Ægean Sea, and, even under Mausolus, had subdued Rhodes and Lycia. But this people had a sad end. The dealers in men found it so easy to obtain supplies in their country that the name of Carian became synonymous with slave. The men of Mysia, wild mountaineers, difficult to keep in subjection, had given the Persian satraps much trouble; they were to give the Roman garrisons still more. We have nothing to say of Isauria, where the inhabitants offered a desperate resistance to the Romans, or of Pisidia, which had never submitted to a foreign yoke, and which wore but lightly that of Rome. Lycaonia, a land of hilly plains, cold, waterless, yet rich in cattle, had a city, Iconium, which afterwards played an important part. In the neighbourhood of this town was a lake which would bear comparison with the most beautiful in Italy.[2] The Pamphilians and Cilicians have no history; Paphlagonia has a painful one, for it was a prey incessantly disputed by the kings of Pontus and Bithynia. We shall speak of Cappadocia and the Armenians later on.

Coin of Mausolos.[1]

Lycaonian Soldier.[3]

Thus we see that there were still many diversities in the great Asiatic peninsula. But among all these nations broken by long slavery, there remained no trace of public life, unless rivalries between cities and internal troubles be looked upon as life. The

[1] ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΟ; Jupiter of Labranda, a town of Caria, containing a celebrated sanctuary of the god. Silver coin. [Inscriptions generally write the name *Mausollos.—Ed.*]

[2] See the engraving on p. 650 of vol. ii.

[3] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii., pl. 103.

Romans therefore, overcame Asia Minor as easily as the Lydians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and Mithridates had done; it was done in one battle; and it cost still less trouble to keep it. They had at first allowed the native kings to govern for them, and then quickly taken their place; now they occupied it wholly. They had placed under their direct administration however, only the ancient kingdoms of Pergamus and Bithynia, with part of the coasts looking towards Rhodes and Cyprus, that is, populations, almost Greek in origin or language, forming a mass of little States which were always at war with one another when no superior authority imposed peace upon them.[1] Leaving the centre and east to the natives then, the Romans had occupied the western region, and thrown their arms as it were, round the peninsula in order to reach Thermodon, beyond Sinope, and the Syrian Gates, beyond Tarsus. Thus they held all the outlets of the peninsula, commanded all communications with the outer world, and controlled the Greek cities situated along its shores. In order the better to efface all memories of independence, they had, in their new distribution of Asia, mixed up the nations and territories. "It is very difficult," says Strabo, "to determine exactly what belongs to Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, or Mysia, for the Romans in their administrative divisions have paid no heed to the difference of nations. They have divided them into jurisdictions, having each a principal town where justice is dispensed."

As for the interior, since they have found among the nations habits of submission to national dynasties, and in these dynasties an interested eagerness to rule only in accordance with the views of Rome, they had been careful not to supplant men who acted so much to the advantage of the Republic. The result of this apparent disinterestedness was that here the Roman frontiers presented a singular conformation, for whereas on the Euxine and Sea of Cyprus the boundary of the provinces almost reached the

[1] Antony had given the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndos; he was soon obliged to take them away from them again ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 7.) *Illud Asia cogitet,* says Cicero, *nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem affuturum fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur . . . . æquo animo, parte aliquâ suorum fructuum, pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.* (*ad Quint.*, I. i. 11.) In the whole of Asia Minor the Roman conquest had nowhere suppressed a really independent political life, strong and powerful, because it had nowhere encountered it." (Perrot, *Inscr. de la Mer Noire,* ad fin.)

Sellier pinx.

Imp. Fraillery.

PATERA OF LAMPSAQUE

meridian of Antioch; in the interior it receded to almost that of Byzantium.

Roman Asia formed three provinces, Bithynia, Asia properly so called, and Cilicia. There were not many colonies there, for it had not offered any resistance necessitating great precautions; neither, as the armies had scarcely made any stay there, had there been any opportunity for settling veterans in it. On the northern coasts however, Sinope, a beautiful and strongly fortified place, whose navy had formerly ruled the whole Euxine, Heraclea, Apamea in Bithynia, and Lampsacus[2] had received colonists; Cyzicus, which had rendered such great services during the war against Mithridates; Ilion and its venerable ruins, the cradle of the Roman people, as they would fain believe; Chios, which Mithridates had destroyed and Sylla had rebuilt; Lycia, where the rich valley of the Xanthos recovered its prosperity; Tarsus, whose schools rivalled those of Athens and Alexandria, and where St. Paul studied; these and many more were free, that is, they retained their laws and magistrates generally on condition of paying tribute, and all of deferring to the occasional orders of the Roman governors. Rhodes, which possessed a part of the opposite coast, considered itself still independent.

Coin of Sinope.[1]

Even in the centre of the provinces there existed little sacerdotal or lay principalities. The interior of Paphlagonia belonged to native chiefs. To the temple of Olba in Cilicia, said to have been founded by Ajax, were attached large domains constituting a kind of sovereignty called the priesthood of Teucer.

Coin of Ajax, Prince of Olba.[3]

[1] ΣΙΝΩΠΕΩΝ; Apollo seated on the *ὀμφάλιον* of Delphi, which marked the centre of the world, and holding in his hand a lyre; in the field, AM, and head of Hercules.

[2] There has been found at Lampsacus a silver patera (cf. coloured plate), now in the Museum of St. Irene at Constantinople, which is one of the most curious representations known of the Asiatic Artemis. The goddess is seated on a golden throne; her flesh and hair are of black enamel, the hair very symmetrically arranged; from her turban protrude two little stag-horns; her dress consists of a golden tunic with stars scattered over it; the golden bow is in her left hand, the guinea-hen and sparrow-hawk at her side; dogs with drooping ears, negresses dressed in golden tunics, and lions complete the ornamentation of this singular monument, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 19.

[3] ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ (ΚΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ) ΚΑΙ ΛΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΔΩ

At the other extremity of Asia Minor a robber-chief named Cleon, quartered in Olympus, had by degrees got together an army and a territory. Some successful raids upon the agents of Labienus at the time when he was crossing Mount Amanus at the head of the Parthians had excused in Antony's eyes his earlier enterprises, and from a robber he had become a prince. Nevertheless he had lately deserted his benefactor at Actium, and Augustus was going to reward him by giving him two cantons of Mysia. with the office of high priest.

Antony had not been fortunate in his friendships; another

Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Iassos (Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, pl. 112).

man, Amyntas, whom he had made a dynast, also betrayed him; a Galatian remained more faithful to him. The eastward part of Bithynia, or the country of the Mariandyni, belonged wholly to the town of Heraclea, which had reduced the natives to the condition of the penestae of Thessaly, leaving them no right save that of not being sold out of the province. After the war against Mithridates the Greeks of Heraclea had ceded a part of their town and territory to Roman colonists. Antony, who was very lavish of

ET E; Ajax, son of Teucer, high priest, præfect (of the Cennati) of the Lalasses under Diodotos in the year 5 (of the reign of Ajax); thunderbolt. Bronze coin.

Telmessus, one of the chief towns in Lycia.

other men's property, gave a Galatian named Adiatorix the portion which remained to the Heracleotes. It was but one half; in order to obtain the other, the Galatian one night fell suddenly upon the Roman colonists and massacred them. This deed, which occurred a short time after Actium, led to a touching story. Adiatorix, being taken prisoner while fighting for the *imperator* of Alexandria, was condemned to death with the eldest of his children. As he was being led to execution the second son of the culprit attempted to pass himself off as the elder, and claimed the right to die with his father. A

Coin of Smyrna, with the Figure of Homer.

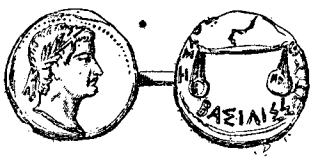
Acropolis of Iassos (Assous).[1]

lively dispute between the two brothers kept the soldiers in suspense. At length the younger gained his point, and said to his friends; "My brother is more capable of maintaining our house than I." Augustus learned too late these circumstances, and

[1] From Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*

regretted the execution, but rewarded the son of Adiatorix for the devotion of his brother by appointing him high priest of Pontic Comana.

The province of Asia was said to contain 500 cities, among which the most beautifully situated were Cyzicus, the queen of the Propontis; Smyrna, which stamped its coins with the effigy of Homer; Iassos, with its Cyclopean Acropolis, upon a plateau rising 1,000 feet above the shore and commanded by a temple from which the view extended over part of the Archipelago. The greatest fortunes were found at Ephesus,[1] celebrated for its temple of Diana, and in spite of its bad harbour, the chief emporium of merchandize from Greece and the East; at Laodicea, which inherited from one of its citizens named Hiero 2,000 talents, and of which another, named Polemon, was made king; at Tralles, where Pythodoris possessed lands also worth 2,000 talents and enough ready money to redeem them when Cæsar had confiscated them as a punishment for her relations with Pompey; at Apamea of Phrygia, the second commercial station in Asia, and on that account called *Kibotos*, or the chest.



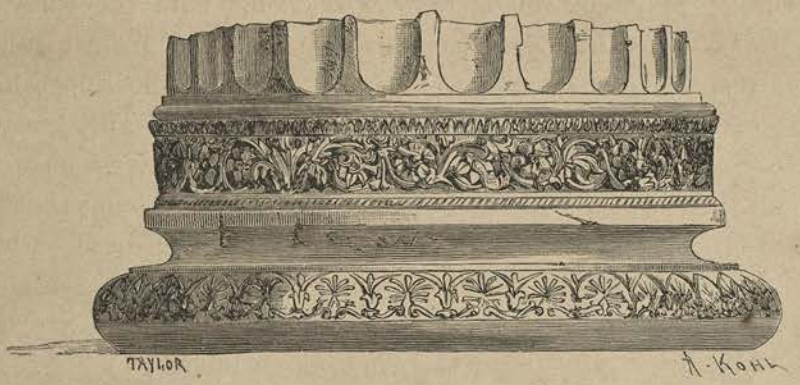
Drachme of Pythodoris, Queen of Pontus.

Pythian Apollo on a Coin of Tralles.

Miletus, with its four harbours, one of which could contain a whole fleet, was, after Ephesus, the largest city of Ionia. Built at the mouth of the Mæander, a river with a capricious and shifting course, it had to suffer accordingly. "Every time it disturbed the boundaries of properties by washing away the angles of its banks, a suit was instituted against it, and if it were convicted it was condemned to pay fines, which were levied upon the tolls." Thus the river paid for its damages. But at length it prevailed over the town, and amid its alluvial deposits must now be sought the remains of the temples which were the pride

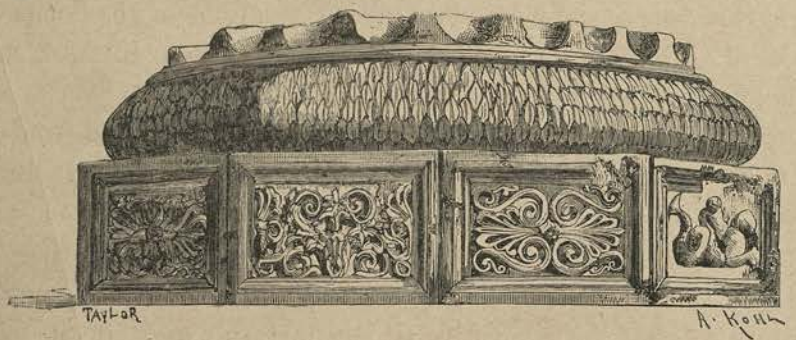
[1] The descendants of Codrus still bore at Ephesus the title of king, the purple robe, and the sceptre, and had the right of presiding at the games and sacrifices of Ceres Eleusinia. But Ephesus possessed a fatal privilege, the right of asylum in its temple. Alexander had extended this privilege to one stadium, Mithridates to within arrow-shot of the four corners of the temple. Antony doubled this measurement, so that part of the town was included within the privileged limits, which caused malefactors to swarm thither. (Strabo, x. 4, 23.)

of Ionia.[1] The Cymæans contested with the Abderitans the privilege of supplying jesters with material for the exercise of their sarcasm, nor did Ephorus or Hesiod, their compatriots, undo for them their unlucky reputation. Synnada possessed precious marbles; Cibyra, manufactories of chiselled iron-work; Colophon,



Base of the Columns of the Temple of Apollo at Miletus (eight feet, eight inches in diameter (Louvre Museum).

a famous oracle, which Germanicus consulted; Pergamus had lately lost its fine library, which had been given to the Alexandrians by Antony; but one of its citizens, Apollodorus, was the friend of



Base of the Columns of the Temple of Apollo at Miletus (eight feet, eight inches, in diameter (Louvre Museum).

Augustus, who deigned to receive from him lessons in polite literature. A brilliant circle of flourishing towns bordered the Propontis; Abydus, the great passage from Europe into Asia; Lampsacus, Prusa, at the foot of Olympus; Nicæa, the most important town of Bithynia; Nicomedia, the capital of the

[1] These excavations, directed by M. Rayet, were carried out at the expense of M. de Rothschild, who gave to the Louvre these magnificent remains.

province, and Chalcedon, called "the city of the blind," because its founders had fixed upon a bad site [as Polybius explains, iv. 43] when they might have occupied the position of Byzantium.

Asia had suffered much in the last convulsions of the Republic without having had, like Gaul and Africa, the consolation of sharing in the glory of the struggle. Circumstances had compelled

The Bridge at Mouslouk (Pergamus).[1]

it to side first with Pompey and afterwards with the Republicans; Cassius on one occasion levied ten years' taxes there all at once.[2] Then came Antony, who exacted far more still. While he was expending this money in the follies of the *inimitable life*, Labienus had led the Parthians right up to the coast opposite Rhodes and Samos, once more visited all the temples, and had taken what the

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii., pl. 123.

[2] The annual tax of Asia was, under Sylla, 4,000 talents. (App., *Bell. Mithrid.*, 62; Plut., *Sylla*, 25.) Cæsar had diminished it by a third, so that the ten years would only produce 27,000 talents. But Cassius and Antony raised the tribute to the original amount again. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.)

triumvir had overlooked.[1] Yet it was necessary to find fresh resources for the formidable armament intended to dispute the empire with Octavius. "The kings, princes, tetrarchs, nations and cities, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, received orders to send the provisions and money necessary." They obeyed. Asia had to all appearance gone forth gaily to this war, but in secret she sighed for the end of this ruinous magnificence, for order and repose, that she might rebuild her temples, redeem from usurers her porticoes and walls,[2] and return to the lessons of her rhetors, to manufacture and commerce. Accordingly she hailed more gladly than any other province the last victory to which most of her chiefs had contributed by sowing discouragement and mistrust among the Antonian troops. Involved against their will in this great quarrel, the Greeks of Asia had retired from it as quickly as possible. They were not fierce patriots dreaming of freedom; equality was more important to them than independence, and provided they still had public debates, municipal and provincial elections for their presiding towns, arts, all the elegancies of the life of Smyrna and Ephesus, which Cicero calls the consolations of slavery,[3] and at long intervals some little internal revolution, they were content. Having been accustomed to this state of things for 600 years they never asked for any other.

Syria and Phœnicia.—Syria had passed through the same vicissitudes, with more disorder and misery, because it was nearer to the Parthians and Arabs. Its misfortunes date far back from the last convulsions amid which the kingdom of Syria had perished.[4] After the sanguinary ambitions of native princes had come the rivalries of foreign masters. It had been necessary to supply both with money and soldiers, and at each vicissitude of the civil wars to endure fresh exactions in expiation of those already endured.

Cæsar, after Pharsalia, had left there as governor his relative Sextus Julius. A former lieutenant of Pompey, Bassus, long concealed at Tyre, took advantage of the withdrawal of the dictator,

[1] *Χρήματα . . . . ἐπράσσετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα.* (Dion, xlviii. 26.)

[2] It was a common custom among the cities of Asia to pledge municipal property to creditors. The Cymæans, having thus given their porticoes as security for the loan, dared no longer walk in them, says Strabo.

[3] *Oblectamenta et solatia servitutis.* (*II in Verr.*, iv. 60.)

[4] See vol. ii. p. 639 *sq.*

and of the false news which from time to time arrived from Spain or Africa, to form a party, stirred up to insurrection the servants of Sextus, and had him murdered. He then took the title of prætor and pretended to govern the province. But the example he had given appeared easy to follow; what he had done against his predecessor, a certain Antistius, tried against him, and he was in his turn besieged in Apamea. This town, almost entirely surrounded by the Orontes and a large lake, was impregnable. The two adversaries, not finding themselves strong enough to decide the contest, called in an Arab chief of the neighbourhood who was in the habit of selling his services to the highest bidder, and who usually assisted the Parthians in invading the province, and profited by the disorder. He repaired to a conference between the town and the legions, proposed his conditions and named his price, which only Bassus was rich enough to pay. Sure of the Arab, he next summoned the Parthians. It was high time for Rome to recover her strength!

While the quarrel between the Republic and the Empire was being settled at Philippi, Syria was completely conquered by the Parthians; only Tyre escaped them, and tyrants arose in every town. The lieutenants of Antony restored a certain degree of order there without introducing much unity into the government of that province, where a number of petty chiefs long existed.

Nevertheless, as soon as peace was concluded, prosperity revived in that favoured region between the Euphrates and the sea, where the ranges of Taurus and Libanus form delicious valleys, and which, if it touched the desert, had also the fertile plains always to be found at the foot of great mountains. It was the gate of the East; everything passed by the rich city of Antioch, which Pompey had left free, and through its port of Seleucia. A few years afterwards Strabo said it was almost as large as Alexandria. But the interior of the country, even the valley of the Orontes, was not freed from the depredations of mountaineers and Arabs. Chalcis, the phylarch of Emesa, and the inhabitants of Damascus, were sometimes able to stop them, but not to destroy them, for the porous limestone of the rocks of Anti-Libanus, everywhere pierced by deep caverns, afforded them impregnable retreats. Near Damascus was one in which 4,000

men could hide themselves with ease.[1] The enemy always most to be feared by the Syrians were the Parthians. Cæsar had promised to deliver the province from this anxiety; Augustus fulfilled the promise in a manner less heroic, but perhaps more secure.

Coin of Tyre.[2]

The coast of Phœnicia, which Strabo prolongs to Pelusium, suffered less from the rivalry of Alexandria than is supposed. Aradus and Tyre had always a superabundant population, who were obliged to build houses of six or eight stories; and the Tyrian purple, celebrated all over the Empire, supported industry which grew richer every day. Sidon, free like Tyre, and equally populous, was the centre of the glass manufacture. What the Greeks had secretly undermined was not the commerce or the industries of their former rivals, but their language and their civilization. Phœnicians were no longer to be found at Tyre and Sidon; on the contrary, many astronomers and mathematicians, rhetoricians and philosophers, schools in short, where all the branches of human knowledge were taught. Even from Ascalon and from Gadara came Philodemus the epicurean, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician. The Categories of Aristotle and the Ideas of Plato obliterated the remembrance of Biblical legends in these towns of the patriarchs.

V.—Provinces of Africa.

Egypt.—Palestine, again once more become a kingdom, will occupy us later. We come now to Egypt, "the ancestress of nations."

On the 15th of August of the year 30 before our era, the race of the Lagidæ had become extinct, after having reigned for nearly three centuries, first with glory, then with weakness and

[1] Strabo, xvi. 756; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 10, 1; "There are fewer robberies now that the band of Zenodorus has been annihilated, thanks to the good administration of the Romans and the garrisons established in Syria." (Strabo, *ibid.*)

[2] ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, that is, *Tyre, holy city and place of refuge*; eagle and palm in the field; a club, AK and ΔK. Silver coin.

opprobrium. Fallen, like all the States of the East, into that semi-slavery in which the senate delighted to hold the most powerful monarchies, Egypt was no longer her own mistress since the day when a Roman officer, stretching out his stick between her and the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, had sufficed to save her. Nearly a century and a half had passed since then, but the Romans liked to see a slow death; in the amphitheatre they would howl at a gladiator who struck too soon. Egypt lived on amidst civil wars and incests, exactions and massacres,

Antiochus Epiphanes.[1]

King and Queen of Egypt of the race of the Lagidæ.[2]

seeing its kings, by turns persecutors and victims, pursue one thing only, the heaping up of gold wherewith to bribe at Rome some tribune or consul.

The history of this great empire had become more and more the history of revolutions of the palace, and in its last days it had

[1] Head of Antiochus Epiphanes, crowned with a diadem. From a silver coin.

[2] Bronze busts found at Herculaneum. Archæologists not being agreed as to the identity of the characters, we have given them only a generic name. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., pl. 18.)

none save the adventures of that ambitious and passionate woman, who, by her grace and her wit, by her mad surrender to pleasure and her courageous death, relieved for a moment the dark tragedy of the second triumvirate. The love of Cæsar absolves Cleopatra from her passion for Antony which was only a necessary policy. If the woman was weak in other respects, the queen was great, great at least after the fashion of the East, that is to say, cruel and fond of display, but clever and proud even to the death. With her, old Egypt descended to the tomb. It had adopted its Macedonian kings and inscribed their names by the side of those of its ancient dynasties. But the word of Ezekiel was now to

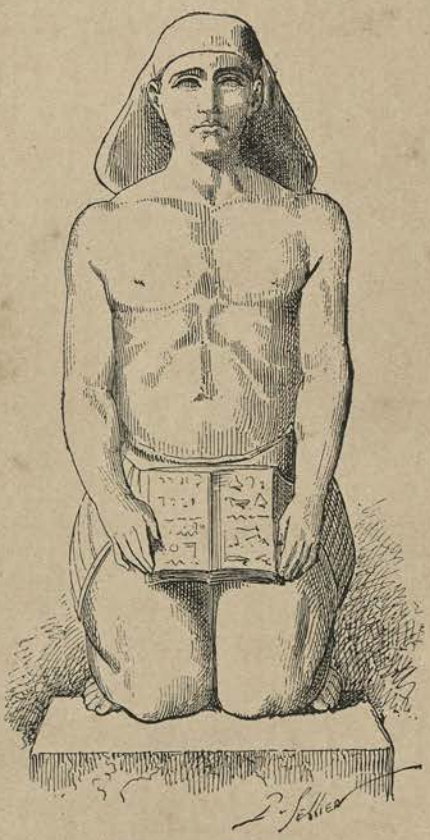
Egyptian Landscape (painting from Pompeii).[1]

be fulfilled; Egypt was no longer to have any but foreign masters, *and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* (xxx. 13).

A society which has in some sort moulded itself upon the ground which it occupies is little influenced by time and men. It would be difficult to find a government worse than that of the later Ptolemies; yet, notwithstanding the continual riots and periodical massacres of Alexandria, Egypt prospered; it was still the land praised by Theocritus, for its soil was always fruitful, its towns innumerable, and its river bountiful. It was also the grand route for Indian commerce, and was a fortress, as it were, whence Africa and Arabia could be held in check. So many advantages struck the discerning eye of Octavius, and he took every measure prudence could suggest to prevent a revolt in a country so well constituted for a life apart, so well defended from aggressions from without by the desert which surrounded it, and by the inhospitable coast which bordered it. Cambyses had

[1] Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., 5th series, pl. 26. There is nothing Egyptian in this Pompeian painting but the crocodile seizing a child and the sphinx placed on one side of the temple.

slaughtered its priests and profaned its monuments. This policy had its deserved consequences. Egypt, under the Persians, was in almost constant revolt. Octavius respected everything, the religion, the language, the customs of this nation. If he refused to turn out of his way to see the bull Apis, he at least performed, like Cæsar, the customary rites in the temples, where he allowed the priests, who were anxious to exhibit the conqueror as a devotee of their gods, to represent him as making an offering to Horus. When he had visited the tomb of Alexander, they wished to show him those of the Ptolemies: "I have come," he said, "to see a king, not dead men." This was his only vengeance on the memory of those whose place he was taking. We shall see that he governed like them, but without riots, and with more order and foresight. From the first, the soldiers who had conquered Antony were employed in cleaning the canals choked up by the Nile. This was good policy for Egypt, where these labours regulated the inundations of the river, and for Rome, which the Egyptian grain was to feed.[1]



Egyptian Priest.[2]

Egypt had 7,000,000 men and great riches; Octavius was anxious to entrust so much power only to obscure persons, to simple knights, who being nothing save through him, could do nothing against him. He did not give them even the insignia of ordinary governors.[3] They were agents whom he sent to

[1] *Ægyptum . . . . ut feraciorem habilioremque annonæ urbicæ redderet, fossas omnes . . . . oblitas longa vetustate, militari opere detersit.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 18.) The Egyptian tribute of corn was reckoned so as to supply Rome for four months.

[2] Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Notice*, etc., No. 360.)

[3] Trebonius Pollio, *Trig. tyr.*, 21. The prefect of Egypt held, however, *imperium ad similitudinem proconsulis.* (*Dig.*, i. 17, 11, and Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60.)

manage one of his farms,[1] and whose accounts he himself examined. Egypt, being considered the domain of the emperors, was not reckoned amongst the provinces, and its revenues, instead of being deposited in the public treasuries, went to increase their *fiscus*. One legion in Alexandria, two in the neighbourhood, nine cohorts and three squadrons commanded an obedience which outside of the capital these docile peoples did not dispute. That there might be no fear of this army being tampered with by

Augustus presenting Offerings to Horus (Rosellini, *op. cit.*).

any ambitious character, he forbade any senator, any knight of illustrious birth, to visit the banks of the Nile without special permission. No one, except an obscure merchant or nameless traveller, could visit this land of marvels. And whereas the whole of Gaul quickly entered into the Roman citizenship, and the chiefs of its noble families came and sat in the Capitol, Egypt was to wait 230 years before one of her race was decorated with the senatorial laticlave. Till the time of Septimius Severus, Alexandria had not even the senate which the humblest cities possessed.

[1] Τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κτημάτων. (Philo, *ad Flac.*, p. 987.)

These precautions were justified by the wealth, the position, and the social organization of Egypt. The towns of Greece and Asia, the tribes of Gaul and of Spain were isolated; a native conspirator or a political adventurer would have found it difficult to unite them for one common purpose. These divisions were unknown in Egypt; it was a great State, all the parts of which had the same kind of life, because for them there was only one history, as there was only one material existence. From Syene to Pelusium everything was common, good and evil, scarcity and abundance, for the Nile was the same for all. From Pelusium to Syene,[1] also, the political organization was identical, for kings and priests had extended their absolute authority over all, as the river covered everything year by year with its slimy waters. But there was nothing to fear from a people made docile by twenty centuries of obedience to a theocratic government or to foreign masters.

Polybius bears this testimony to the Egyptians, and Strabo, who knew them well, accepts it, that they were intelligent and submissive to the laws. The name of their master concerned them little, provided that the Nile overflowed its banks on the appointed day, that their sacred animals did not die too frequently, that Serapis continued his marvellous cures at Canopus, and that they could celebrate the festivals of their thousand divinities. At that of Serapis boats covered the river and the canals by day and night, and the banks resounded with dissolute songs and dances. The distance from Alexandria to Canopus was 120 stadia; then it was one long street, noisy and gay.

This was their great business. Pleasure was their true god, their only religion; but Rome did not intend to deprive them of it. Why then, should they allow themselves to be seized with a new fit of pride, rather Greek than Egyptian indeed, and why should they recommence the Alexandrian war? If the rising of the river was not great enough and famine threatened, if the taxes were too heavy, they could certainly murmur and make a disturbance, but the sight of a few armed soldiers would quell

[1] M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 3; "All the structures still existing at Philæ date from the epoch of the Ptolemies or from that of the Roman emperors." (De Rougé, *ibid.*; *Explic. des Planches.*)

the most formidable revolt. The whole of the Thebaid in revolt would tremble before two or three cohorts, and Petronius would need only his prætorian guard to brave the threatening anger of the immense population of Alexandria. As long as their life was easy and pleasant, they would pass in front of the majestic monuments erected by their fathers without remembering that they had once been a great nation. The most learned among them

Louqsor, in Thebais.[1]

hardly knew how to read the inscriptions which recounted the ancient glory of their Pharaohs[2] and those priests of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, whose profound science Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato reverently consulted, were no longer aught but pious jugglers who had lost the deep meaning of things. If

[1] M. de Rougé's *Album*, pl. 47.

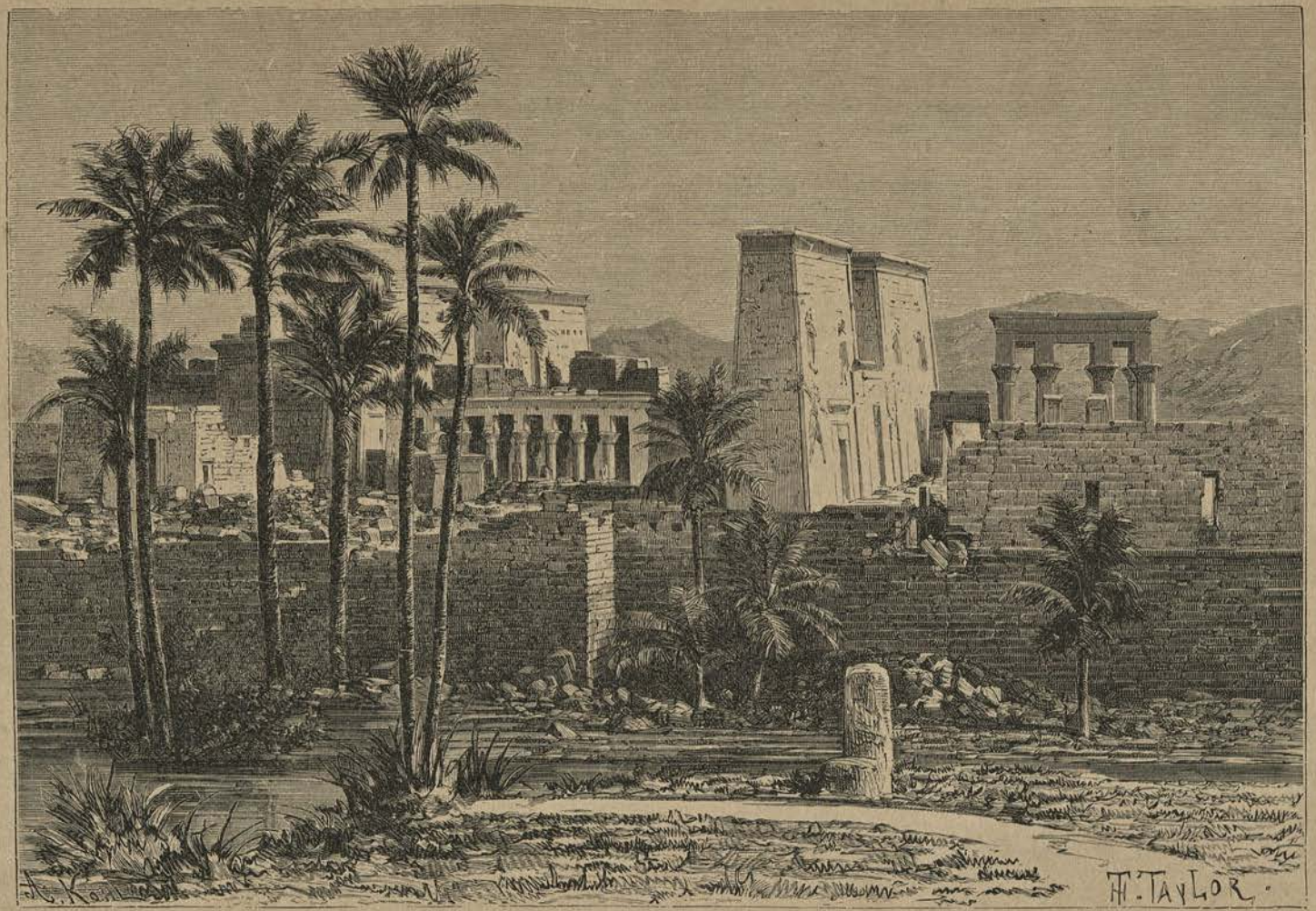
[2] The third governor, Gallus, when he visited Egypt, could not obtain an explanation of their mysteries. (Strabo, xvii. 29.) It is possible that Gallus was not satisfied with his Egyptian cicerone, for Rosellini (*Mon. stor.*, ii. p. 455) maintains that hieroglyphics were used until Caracalla at least, and M. Letronne perhaps until the sixth century. (*Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 464.) [But in late buildings they are found used at random, as mere ornament.—*Ed.*]

a traveller, anxious to see this strange race near at hand, arrived at Memphis, they did not explain to him the course of the stars, the dimensions of the heavens and the earth, or the secrets of creation, but they led him to the temple of Apis. If the hour had come, there issued from the sanctuary a black bull spotted with white; he was let loose in the *pronaos*; he was made to take a few leaps then led back to his stall; this was their god and these were their doctrines. Another of their gods was the crocodile of Arsinoë, but let an eye-witness speak; "Our host, a person of importance in the country, accompanied us to the lake, bringing from the remnants of our meal a small cake, some baked meat, and a flagon of hydromel; we found the sacred animal on the edge of the lake. The priests seized him and some held his mouth open, whilst another threw the cake into it, then the meat, and lastly, poured down the wine. Then the crocodile leaped into the lake and crossed rapidly to the opposite bank. Another stranger having appeared with his offering, the priests took it, ran round the lake to the crocodile, and when they reached him made him take what had been brought in the same way." [2]

Osiris.[1]

Thus the grand religion of Isis, the mysterious goddess, and of the good Osiris had become a clumsy fetishism, of which the ceremonial and liturgy were those orgies which the East loves to mingle with popular devotion.

[1] Bas-relief brought from Egypt by Comte de Forbin. (Museum of the Louvre.)
[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 811.



The Island of Philæ (Upper Egypt).

The vast learning of the ancient priests, however, transpired through the covering which had buried the old society, and Strabo speaks of the Greeks causing Egyptian books to be translated in order to plagiarize these hidden treasures. Alexandria was the grand seat of translations and commentaries.[1] This union of two civilizations so different took place also at other points; at Memphis, the largest city in the kingdom after the capital, and like it inhabited by people of all nations, and which showed to the worshippers of the bull Apis the strange spectacle of bull-fights; at Ptolemais, a thoroughly Greek city, hardly second to Memphis, and whose proximity had completed the ruin of the great Thebes [in Homer's day], "the town of 100 gates, by each of which went out 200 men with their horses and their chariots of war."

To the Greeks and Jews, Egypt was an immense market, whither they flocked; to the nomads of the deserts of Africa and Arabia an oasis of verdure and water, where every day some amongst them halted. At Coptos, says Strabo, there were as many Arabs as Egyptians. There was to be seen, therefore, a renewal of that intercourse which had taken place in the beginning of Egyptian society, but there followed from it no such results. Then the land had been stronger than the men, and that early culture in a country which none other in the world resembles had assumed an unique character. But now the hand of Rome was too heavy, the inspiration of the Greek spirit too powerful, for old Egypt to resist their double action, under which fell the barriers that protect the independence of nations and originality of institutions, habits, and beliefs. Egypt, more than any other country, would lose thereby, but it was for the advantage of the world.

Cyrenaica and Roman Africa.—Alexandria lies at the western extremity of Egypt; there the delta ends and the desert begins. From the island of Pharos to the promontory of Carthage, on a coastline 750 leagues in extent, vessels met with hardly a single

[1] Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος . . . . ὃς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βίβλους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώττας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν, μυριάδας βίβλων δέκα ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. (Syncellus, p. 271.) Let us add the great translation of the Hebrew books or Septuagint. Ptolemy quotes seven observations of the astronomers of Babylon.

port. Africa is as formidable to travellers on its shores as in its waterless solitudes. Not that the Sahara everywhere extends to the sea; around that ocean of sand occupying the centre of northern Africa lies an immense plateau, that of Atlas, which, by its vegetation, some of its animals, and its climate, partakes more of the character of southern Italy and Spain than of Africa. Though the summits which command this plateau are not high enough to bear glaciers, snow and rigorous cold are not rare. This plateau has two terraces, one sloping down to the Sahara, which is the beginning of the desert, the Bled-el-Djerid, the region of dates, in which flocks still find wells and pasture enough to multiply, the other reaching to the Mediterranean, called the Tell, a corn-bearing plain, a region of towns and ports. The Tell itself does not everywhere touch the sea; it is separated from it by a belt of mountains which form a bluff and steep coast, against which the waves break with fury, and which opens out at long intervals into a valley watered by rivers whose shallow and irregular course is unfortunately not favourable for navigation.

Three kinds of inhabitants corresponded to these three zones; the nomadic tribes of Bled-el-Djerid, difficult to attack, but kept in a state of dependence on the Tell for their supplies of grain; the Berbers or Kabyles of the plateau, a race apart, athletic in form, industrious, active, very brave, willingly remaining at peace as long as their independence was not threatened; and lastly, the husbandmen of the Tell and the sedentary inhabitants of the inland towns and of the coast. The latter, facing Europe, were always in communication with it by commerce or piracy, by conquest or invasion. These three regions, like the three populations, were quite distinct in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. In the regency of Tripoli the Sahara extends to the sea. Except a few tracts of verdure there was nothing from Lesser Syrtis to Egypt but the empire of Typhon, the ocean of sand. On that long shore, where sea and land are equally inhospitable, the one on account of its shallows, the other by reason of its shifting sands, the road is indicated only by heaps of stones made at long intervals; each pilgrim who passes adds his to the pile; they are the beacons of the desert.

A marvellous spectacle nevertheless, awaits the traveller as he

leaves the frightful solitudes of Parætonium or of the Greater Syrtis, one of the most desolate regions of the earth. The ground, which from afar seemed to join the level of the Mediterranean, rises to a mean height of 1,600 feet, and the plateau of Barca, formerly Cyrenaica, juts out into the sea as a lofty and broad promontory, covered with venerable forests and intersected by

Remains of an Ancient Bridge at Ptolemais, in Cyrenaica.[1]

fertile valleys in which water flows everywhere.[2] Innumerable and imposing ruins, which bear the double impress of Egypt and of Greece, the remains of castles proudly situated on the heights[3] and

[1] Captain Beechy, *Exped. to Explore the Northern Coast of Africa, from Tripoli Eastward*, p. 339 (1828).

[2] See the curious account of Della Cella. (*Viaggio da Tripoli da Barbaria alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto*, 1819.) Doctor Russell has collected some valuable information in his *History of the Barbary States*, Edinburgh, 1835.

[3] Not a single peak, says Ritter (vol. iii. p. 238, of the French translation), but was covered with the ruins of an old castle or fort; not a fort but was surrounded by ditches dug in the rock and by remarkable constructions executed in the interior of the mountain. Cyrene is 1,770 feet above the sea, which it overlooks, and whence it can be seen situated on hills which descend on successive terraces to the harbour. Its territory shows a vigorous vegetation, thanks to the periodic rains which fall there, and which justify the saying of the Libyans (Herod., iv. 158) about a perforated sky; *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται*. Cyrenaica, having great differences of climate, owing to the elevation of the mountains, possessed also a great diversity of productions; harvest was carried on there for eight months of the year. Oil, wine, and corn were the principal products, in addition to silphium, the leaves of which were excellent for

roads still furrowed with the deep ruts left by ancient chariots, bear witness to the prosperity of that fruitful land, the garden of the Hesperides. Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Cyrene, are still there,[1] covering immense tracts, but silent and deserted, for only the wandering Bedouin now comes to drink at the sacred fountain where Callimachus wrote his hymns to Apollo and to Pallas.[2]

Remains of a Mausoleum at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica.[3]

Like those petrified towns which the Arabs profess to have seen in the desert, life has entirely departed from them, and the traveller finds them lying dead on the ground enveloped in their ancient walls as in a winding-sheet of stone. It is a spectacle at once full of grandeur and of sadness, which only the East can show, for it is the first-born of the world, and has seen as many empires pass away as our young Europe can reckon centuries of

flocks and the stem for man; the root yielded assafœtida, which was much esteemed by the ancients, as it still is by the Orientals.

[1] Arsinoë covered a plain three quarters of a league in extent, which is still surrounded by a colossal rampart. The ruins of Ptolemais are more than a league in circuit. (Della Cella, *Viaggio.*) [It must be distinguished from Egyptian Ptolemais near Memphis.—*Ed.*]

[2] The Bedouins, driven out of the desert by the summer, came every year with their flocks to seek for water and pasturage in the mountains of Cyrene. (Captain Beechy, *Exped. to North Africa*, p. 354.)

[3] Captain Beechy, *Exped. to Explore*, etc.

existence. These old ruins indeed, conceal others, and rest on a soil on which a civilized people had trodden before the arrival of the Greeks. The monuments here bear inscriptions in unknown characters, doubtless the last traces of an indigenous population which had sprung up in this great African oasis.

Cyrenaica, the land of mountains, springs, and forests, but without a large river, yet resembled Egypt in its fertility and

View in the Neighbourhood of Apollonia.[1]

isolation. Like the valley of the Nile, it was surrounded by frightful deserts, and could only be approached from the Mediterranean by two or three points.[2] Here corn was not the chief article of commerce, but silphium, exported through the whole empire, essence of roses, oil (the best in the world), and above all, wines; accordingly Bacchus was held in great honour here.

[1] Captain Beechy, *Exped.*, etc., p. 466.

[2] These points are now—Tajouni, Bengazi—perhaps the ancient Berenice, and Marza-Sousa, the ancient Apollonia. This would be, says Ritter (ii. 239), an admirable colony for a European power.

At every step we find remains of his temples. To these we must add the products of the industry of the five large towns, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene, which in riches and luxury rivalled the Greek cities of Ionia. The effeminacy of the Cyrenians had become proverbial;[1] there, truly, philosophy might declare [through Aristippus] its decision: "Happiness lies in pleasure."

The will of its last king had delivered this beautiful country over to the Romans,[2] but they owned so many others that hitherto they had given little attention to this remote possession; the emperors afterwards did so; some beautiful Roman ruins testify to their care.

The Greater Syrtis, which bordered on Cyrenaica, was the field of battle between the sea and the Sahara. The waves of the one, driven during nine months of the year by the north winds, there struggled with the sands of the other, and the shore presented only an alternation of shifting sand-hills, salt-marshes, and plains covered with a layer of salt three or four inches thick. The gulf was no safer for vessels than the shore for caravans; the current which carried the waters eastward broke against the plateau of Barca and was thrown back in a thousand directions, causing a violent and dangerous agitation amongst the shallows. The Cyrenians and Carthaginians had nevertheless contended for this gloomy region, and towns were built there. The fall of Carthage and the cessation of the extensive trade which it carried on with the interior of Africa through this country led to their decay; the Empire afterwards soon restored to them a lasting prosperity.

Africa is always marvellously fertile or of distressing barrenness. Between Greater and Lesser Syrtis fertile soil is to be seen here and there; the neighbourhood of Leptis the Great and the valley of Cinyps produced, says Herodotus, three hundredfold. Accordingly Leptis itself had become an important city; its ruins cover a space three miles long by two broad. After this place Strabo names only a few towns which kept up the industry of purple dyeing, the last remnant of Phœnician civilization, another

[1] The comic poet Alexis, quoted by Athenæus, ridicules their long banquets: "Invite one guest, eighteen will come—in ten chariots with thirty horses." (Athen., *Deipnosoph.*, xii. 1.)

[2] Vol. ii. p. 481.

relic of which, the Punic dialect, was to last for a long time. The geographer speaks also of a large port at the foot of Lesser Syrtis. There the town of Cabes now stands, numbering not less than 30,000 souls.

Isolated by reason of the sea and the sands, the region of the Syrtes had continued, till the late wars, separated from the Roman world by Numidia, which the senate had not wished to make into a province. An unaccountable caution had in truth arrested the progress of Roman colonization. It was for a descent upon that continent that the first legions which left Italy had embarked; two centuries had passed since then, and although they had returned thither three times more with the two Scipios and with Marius, only a small number of colonists and Italian merchants

Coin of Roman Carthage.[1]

Coin of Micipsa.[2]

had settled there, instead of the crowd which hastened into Spain, Gaul, and Asia. But lately Rome in reality possessed only a corner of land there, the former Carthaginian Africa, and even that she had generously shared with the kings of Numidia.

This kingdom, which after Jugurtha's death, was divided, had been united afresh, and under Juba it extended through fertile districts, from Ampsagas to the sea of the Syrtes. In this way it protected the province against the incursions of the nomadic tribes, but it also surrounded it in a dangerous fashion. Juba showed this during Cæsar's campaign in Africa. Nevertheless, the senate had not neglected their usual precautions. On the coast along the Syrtes, several free towns, Thapsus, Leptis Minor, Achulla,

[1] Head of Ceres.

[2] Horse on the left; in the background, a sceptre. Bronze coin of Micipsa.

Usilla, Teudalis, and perhaps Hadrumetum, were like so many gates opening upon Numidia. By them Cæsar had entered. His great-uncle, Marius, had prepared other auxiliaries for him. The Gætuli, whom Strabo calls the greatest of the Libyan nations, and who pitched their tents on the southern slope of Atlas, depended for their supply of grain on the Numidian kings; but this dependence they submitted to unwillingly, and Marius, when he allowed Numidia to continue, took care to establish an understanding with these nomads. A number of Gætuli had become his clients, or received the title of Roman citizens. Cæsar, by recalling these facts, gained over the whole nation, and the diversion made by this people aided greatly in the defeat of the Pompeians.

The battle of Thapsus led to the whole of Numidia and part of the country of the Gætuli being reduced to a province. Some years later, when Bogud, one of the two Moorish kings, took the side of Antony, Octavius adjudged his kingdom, Mauretania Tingitana, to the other prince, who was already master of Mauretania Cæsariensis; and at the death of the latter in the year 33, he incorporated both into the domain of the Republic. Northern Africa had thus entirely changed in the space of a few years, and the same influence, spreading over it from Alexandria to Tingis, was soon to restore life to its desolate shores. Already Carthage, rebuilt by Cæsar, and colonized by Augustus, was again becoming a flourishing city.

In the interior of Numidia one town surpassed all the others, and indeed could no longer be called a barbarian city. This was Cirta, to which Micipsa had summoned some Greek colonists, and which Cæsar had given to his Italian adventurers.

Coin of Tingis.[1]

Tangiers, *Tingis*, had just received from Octavius the right of citizenship. But Mauretania, situated behind it, was little known, although they boasted of its beautiful rivers and its fertility, its vines, which produced bunches of grapes a cubit length, its trees, which supplied tables in one piece, veined with

[1] Bearded head of Baal and Punic inscription. Reverse of a bronze coin of Agrippa struck at Tingis.

the most beautiful colours,[1] and its horses, swifter than the wind. A somewhat extensive trade with the interior of Africa could not fail to draw thither the Roman population, in spite of nearness of the desert and its threatening hordes.

What were these tribes? After Greek civilization had reached the Numidians, the earliest scholars of that people found it easy to invent an illustrious origin for themselves. They could not be either Greeks or Romans; they availed themselves of vague tradition, and connected themselves with what was most illustrious in the world, after Rome and Greece, namely, Persia. Sallust, who obtained an explanation of their books, found from them that the Numidians had for their ancestors Persians, companions of

View of Tangiers (Present State).

Heracles. When the Christian religion in its turn penetrated to these countries, the Moors became the Canaanites whom Joshua expelled from Palestine.

Herodotus is more simple, and doubtless nearer the truth; he acknowledges only two native races in Africa, the Libyans and the Ethiopians; and two foreign ones, the Greeks and the Phœnicians.[2] The persistent tradition of great migrations from Asia, and the existence from Egypt to the extremities of Atlas of one language

[1] It was in the Atlas the citrus (*thuya articulata*) was found, which furnished the tables sold in Rome at a fabulous price. Cicero paid for one £8,000; the Cethegi had another worth £11,600. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 29.)

[2] Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 17–18; Procop., *Bel. Vand.*, ii. 10.

which is not without analogy to the Semitic dialects, have already shown us that a great people had spread over the African continent in this direction. Local separation over a great area led to diversities of customs.

Hercules strangling Antæus.[1]

The two foreign races, the Greeks and Phœnicians, were now subject to Rome. The black race had escaped her, and would continue to do so, but she found herself face to face with the Libyans, who, in Zeugitania and Byzacium, had been accustomed to the Roman yoke, and, in Numidia had begun to feel it through their kings, who for a century had been converts to Roman civilization. If the Republic did not among the nations come into collision with that religious opposition which leads to desperate resistance, she encountered such an opposition to her customs, that Augustus deemed it prudent to abandon the government of the country to native princes, that they might establish towns which should render the occupation more easy, encourage commerce, literature and arts, which should create interests favourable to foreign rule, and, in a word, prepare those rude tribes to accept the direct action of Rome.

[1] Marble group from the gallery of Florence. This group, published by De Rossi (*Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne*, 1704), is considered by Maffei to be probably [a copy of] that of Polycleitus, mentioned by Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 8.) We gave, in vol. ii. p. 750, a representation of the same subject from a painted vase.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE ALLIED OR TRIBUTARY COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLES BORDERING UPON THE FRONTIERS.

I.—Native Governments.

THE provinces were not the only possessions of the Republic. Under different titles Rome held sway over vast regions which were named the allied countries, because with the semblance of independence a doubtful liberty had been left them, *regiones dubiæ libertatis.*

Tacitus, in speaking of kings who had retained their thrones by consenting to an alliance with Rome, calls them, in studied phrase, *vetus servitutis instrumentum.* But Strabo says more simply: "Of these countries which form the Roman Empire, some are governed by kings; the rest, under the name of provinces, are directly administered by the Romans. There are also some free towns; and lastly, a few countries are governed by dynasties, phylarchs, and priests, who acknowledge the sovereignty of the Republic, though they live conformably to their own laws."

The senate was not inclined to multiply armies and functionaries. Having to restrain and defend 60,000,000 of men, with a few thousand soldiers, and some hundreds of agents, they had governed as much as possible by natives. And they were right, for the Roman people were amongst the subject nations but an imperceptible minority.

This manner of acting was not odious cunning, as Tacitus gives us to understand, but prudence. For Rome, as undisputed mistress of the world, was no longer reduced to the Machiavellian combinations she had employed in the days of her weakness. The kings whom she maintained ruled only over submissive and

scanty populations; at a word from her they would fall without exciting a murmer, for everyone knew they were but Roman proconsuls.[1] As she had left the republics of Greece their own laws, so she permitted the peoples accustomed to the authority of king or priest to retain the leader they preferred, especially the nomadic tribes, who had no towns by which Rome could hold them in check; but kings, peoples, cities, all knew that they had a master on the banks of the Tiber. In the year 29, Antiochus, king of Commagene, assassinated a deputy whom his brother was sending to Rome; he was summoned before the senate, condemned, and executed by order of Augustus.[2]

The whole Empire of Rome, therefore, was thus divided. Those directly governed were the countries, such as Gaul and Spain, where the conquerors had found among thousands of barbarous States no local government strong enough to be responsible for the submission of the country. There they were obliged to transact their own business, organize an administration, open roads, and establish towns. In European and Asiatic Greece, they continued to speak of Hellenic liberty, a fiction which had been so convenient, and, to spare themselves the tedium of constant intervention, they still maintained autonomy in a great number of cities.

In more distant places, towards Armenia and the Euphrates, they had to keep order on the frontiers; who were more fitted to take this upon themselves, so far from Italy, than the native governments? By the rude lessons of Sylla and Lucullus, of Pompey and Cæsar, these princes had learned Rome's strength and their own weakness. They therefore accepted their part with resignation; their hereditary right being maintained for them,[3]

[1] Some of these kings called themselves *procurators* of the Roman people. (Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 14.) King Cottius in his inscription termed himself *præfectus civitatum.*

[2] Dion, liii. 43.

[3] With consent of the senate, afterwards of the emperor. (Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, xvi. 9, 4.) They often paid tribute and furnished auxiliaries in case of war. (Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 31; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 16.) The history of Herod, related in detail by Josephus, shows us the condition of these kings. They did not possess the right of making war, of disposing of their succession, and Jewish kings coined copper money only. (Cavedoni, *Numismat. biblica*, Modena, 1850, p. 52.) The kings of Thrace and the Bosphorus coined silver. None of these kings had the right to coin gold. These independent kingdoms were thus considered as forming an integral part of the empire, just like the free towns, and when the emperor ordered an enumeration their inhabitants were also counted. (St. Luke, ii. 1.)

they looked upon their kingdom as a patrimony where it was their interest to maintain order and security.

Kings and dynasties of Thrace and Asia Minor.—It was in Thrace that the nearest allied kings were to be found. In the Civil wars of Rome, they prudently divided themselves between the two factions, in order that the partisan of the conqueror might save the friend of the conquered. Rhœscuporis had helped Brutus; his brother Rhœscus the triumvirs, and they pardoned the former for the sake of the latter. These connections introduced some Roman habits into the country, but the Thracians still remained barbarians, in spite of the Latin verses of Cotys;[2] and in the Hæmus there dwelt wretched and ferocious tribes of banditti. The colours in which Herodotus and Thucydides painted these tribes 400 years previously were still true, for Tacitus does not vary them. They tattooed their children. They considered husbandry unworthy of a warrior, and knew no sources of gain but war and theft. They immolated human victims to their gods. Such habits do not make nations great or strong. Thrace, sparsely peopled, though still troublesome, was not dangerous; when barbarous peoples degenerate, when they lose their savage energy, they fall more rapidly, more hopelessly than civilized nations. The Thracians of Thucydides were formidable, those of Tacitus are contemptible.

Rhœscuporis.[1]

In Asia, more than half the domains of the Republic had retained their native chiefs. Cappadocia, a large plain frozen in winter, scorched in summer, here and there marshy, and in many places impregnated with salt, which arrested vegetation, was nevertheless rich in grain, but without woods or fruit-trees. It lacked towns and consequently manufactures, and it had instead many strong castles, whence the kings, their friends and the nobles kept in check a dull and listless population, as evil in repute at Rome as it had been at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, and who had recently scandalized the Romans greatly by refusing the liberty which the senate had offered them. And yet their kings, who

Ariobarzanes III., King of Cappadocia.

[1] From a coin of the *Cabinet de France*. Bare and beardless head of Rhœscuporis I.; behind it, a monogram; underneath, the date, H K T.

[2] Ovid, *Epp. Pont.*, ii. 9.

on their coins styled themselves friends of the Romans, did not treat them with very fatherly authority. When their revenues diminished they sold their subjects to cover the deficiency. One of the last, the brother of that Ariobarzanes III. whom the usurious demands of Pompey and Cæsar had beggared, amused himself with stopping up one of the outlets of the Melas, and changed the whole of an immense plain into a lake. He wished to form an Ægean sea in the middle of the land, with islands arranged in a circle like the Cyclades. But the river burst its bounds and inundated the lands of the Galatæ. The latter complained to the senate, who caused Ariarathes to pay 300 talents for this royal whim.

Ariarathes V.

The most important person in the State, after the king, was the chief priest of Mâ; being appointed for life, and always chosen from the royal family, he possessed all the privileges of sovereignty. At Comana 6,000 slaves of both sexes were engaged in the service of the temple, the revenues of which were considerable. That of Jupiter, in Morimene, had 3,000, with a yearly revenue of fifteen talents for the pontiff, who held the first rank below the chief priest of Comana. This population, which was very superstitious, divided itself, as we see, between its kings, its nobles, and its priests, yielding submissively to all. Antony had driven out Ariarathes in the year 36, and given his place to Archelaus.

Coin of Archelaus (obverse).[1]

Archelaus (reverse).[1]

Near the Cappadocians dwelt the Galatæ, formerly divided into three tribes, each of which formed four tetrarchies. The twelve tetrarchs and the judges managed the ordinary business; but when a murder was in question, a jury of 300 warriors met under the shadow of the oaks and gave their decision. This organization, a relic of the oldest time, had been gradually modified; first, each tribe had had only one chief, then all the people were divided between two princes; still later, Dejotarus received from the

[1] Head of Archelaus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ; a club and K in the centre. Silver coin of Archelaus.

senate the title of king along with Lesser Armenia. Some time before Actium, Antony, who had little confidence in the old monarch, had given to his general, Amyntas, a part of Galatia with the mountainous regions infested by brigands, which extended south to the sea of Cyprus. Both were nevertheless guilty of defection on the eve of the battle, and by this treason saved their crown, which Augustus left them. Pessinus, famous for its temple of Cybele, no longer contained the image of the goddess, which had long been at Rome, and its chief priests had lost the authority and the large revenues which made them equal to kings. Only its commerce remained, thanks to its central position.

Polemon I. King of Pontus and of the Bosphorus.

During an expedition of the Parthians into Asia Minor, a rhetorician had saved the town of Laodicea. His courage and eloquence were magnificently rewarded. Antony, prodigal of the title of king, awarded it justly this time when he gave it to Polemon, the son of the rhetorician, together with the charge of the whole eastern frontier, from the Pontus Euxinus almost to Cilicia.[1] Polemon proved so able that Augustus never thought of punishing for his friendship with Antony a man whose task it was to keep watch for the Empire over the kings of Armenia. He also retained the prince of Samosata, who, in the angle included between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, watched the Parthians; but in eastern Cilicia he displaced the sons of Tarcondimotos, who had been slain at Actium in the ranks of the Antonians.

In Syria, Damascus had received a Roman garrison, but the province contained a crowd of Arab or Jewish chiefs, some of them unsubdued plunderers, others wavering between the Romans and the Parthians, and even the best being always of doubtful fidelity. One of them has attained notoriety—King Herod.

[1] The Polemonian Pontus, which reached southwards as far as the sources of the Iris, formed a triangle, the extreme points of which were Zela, Polemonium, and Trapezus. (Strabo, *Geograph.*, xii. p. 577.)

Herod and the Jews.—In order to become master of a State thirty or forty leagues in length, this usurper had displayed more courage, address, and cruelty, more vices and talents than would have sufficed for the conquest of an empire. But Herod had to deal with an unmanageable and headstrong race, who would be conquered only by being crushed, and he had tamed them by punishments. He belonged to a country and an age in which death was given and received with a facility which, happily, we do not understand, and of all those who then possessed this gloomy right of blood, no one abused it as he. His friends, even his relatives, perished; his wife, the beautiful Mariamne, was beheaded; he caused two of his sons to be strangled, and, five days before his death, he ordered the execution of the third. Knowing well the hatred of the people, and yet anxious that his death should be mourned, he assembled the chief persons of the nation in the hippodrome of Jericho, and ordered that they should be massacred as soon as he had given up the ghost, in order that there might be a time of mourning, and of real mourning in the whole country. When he expired, his sister Salome concealed his death for a day and sealed with the royal signet an order of deliverance. The East holds life cheap; it loves power and magnificence; Herod, who knew how to terrify and to dazzle, reigned thirty-four years, and received the title of Great.

He was descended from a race hateful to the Jews; his father, Antipater the Idumæan, had been Cæsar's agent in Judæa, and he himself owed all his fortune to Antony. After the battle of Actium, he surrendered to the conqueror at Rhodes, and nobly confessed his friendship for his former benefactor. Octavius, tired of servilities, was pleased to meet with a real man; he allowed him to remain in his kingdom, which he increased by all the gifts made to Cleopatra at the expense of Palestine, but without lessening the enormous tax which Pompey had imposed, the fourth part of the crops and the capitation-tax.[2]

Coin of Rhodes.[1]

[1] ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΕΝ; on the left, a Victory holding a palm and a crown. Reverse of a coin of Rhodes.

[2] Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 10, 6.

These Romans seem nevertheless to have had an involuntary respect for the pure doctrines of the Mosaic worship. Strabo admires them, and notwithstanding his haughty scorn for a people of whom he knew little, Tacitus does them homage.[1] When Pompey took Jerusalem, he respected the treasures of the temple; Agrippa sacrificed there, as Alexander had done before, and the governors whom Rome sent to the Jews, far from finding fault with the intolerant zeal of this race, increased the magnificence of their festivals by associating imperial authority therewith.[3] A more certain sign is found in the privileges granted to the Jews, already scattered in great numbers throughout all the provinces; equality with the inhabitants of the towns in which they settled, without any obligation to contribute towards the expenses of the city, permission to observe their laws and feasts everywhere, and even exemption from military service. But are those edicts, which would have ensured to them such marvellous advantages, authentic? It is doubtful; some of their provisions at least are suspicious.

Conqueror in the Games.[2]

As chief of this people, Herod utilized these traditions of the Roman policy; he obtained the favour of Augustus, who ordered

[1] Strabo, xvi. p. 760. Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 5) speaks nobly of the manner in which they had conceived the divinity: *Mente sola, unumque numen intelligunt . . . . summum illud et æternum, neque mutabile neque interiturum.*

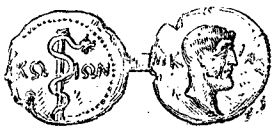
[2] From an engraved stone (cornelian, ·39 inch by ·4724 inch) of the *Cabinet de France.* (Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, No. 1869.) The *auriga* carries the palm which he has just received as a prize in the games.

[3] During the feast of the Passover the soldiers in garrison at Jerusalem were placed at the door of the temple. (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20.) Pontius Pilate had sent for a legion to come to Jerusalem with its standard; at the entreaties of the priests he consented to send the standards back to Cæsarea to avoid wounding the eyes of the Jews by images which their religion condemned. (Joseph., *ibid.*, ii. 14.) Tiberius also ordered him to remove from Jerusalem the golden shields which he had caused to be placed there, the inscriptions of which, containing the names of some pagan divinities, were a subject of scandal to the Jews. (Philo, *de Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1033.) Even under Nero, a lieutenant of the governor of Syria who had come to Jerusalem to collect information about an incipient revolt, "went up into the temple," says Josephus (*ibid.*, ii. 28), "and there worshipped God and the holy shrines without penetrating further than our religion permitted him." Lastly, the officers of the emperor offered sacrifices in his name every year. When the Jews in revolt (under Nero) desired that they should be refused, the priests cried out at the impiety and appealed to the example of all times and the gifts offered by strangers in the temple, which formed its principal ornament, etc. (Joseph., *ibid.*, 31.)

him to free the environs of Damascus from robbers. But one day, when the Jewish king pursued the banditti as far as the territories of the Nabathæan Arabs, the emperor deemed it a serious expedition, with plans of conquest, and sharply rebuked the ambition of his vassal. "Hitherto," he wrote to him, "I treated you as a friend; for the future I shall treat you as a subject." Herod humbled himself.

Nevertheless, to please his master he spared nothing; statues, temples, towns of marble were erected in the emperor's honour under the eyes of the indignant Jews; but Herod, imbued with Greek manners, was no longer an Israelitish prince. He pensioned poets at Rome; he distributed prizes at the Olympic games; he adored the divinity of the founders of the Empire, and at the same time he destroyed one after the other all the institutions dear to his nation; the high priesthood and the sanhedrim were degraded, the national laws scorned, and terror was held over every head faithful to the ancient worship.

But the Jews were not confined to Judæa only. This little nation had multiplied with incredible fruitfulness,[1] and their dispersion had already begun. "It would be difficult," says Strabo, "to find one spot in the habitable earth which has not received them and where they have not become firmly established. At Alexandria they occupy a large part of the town and form a kind of republic, living under its own laws."[3] At Cyrene, in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in the islands, at Corinth, they were found in great numbers, and even at Rome, where they showed such sorrow at the death of Cæsar. At Babylon, Hyrcanus found a whole tribe of them. At Seleucia more than 50,000 were killed at one time; an equal number were afterwards massacred at Alexandria under Nero. Since the time of



Coin of Cos.[2]

[1] Unlike the Roman matron who prided herself on the title of *univira*, the Jewish woman considered widowhood "as a state of desolation." A large family was held a blessing. This explains how the Jewish race has survived notwithstanding its sad history.

[2] NIKIAΣ; a bare head of Nicias, facing right. On the reverse, KΩIΩN; serpent entwined around a staff. Bronze coin of Cos.

[3] Philo (*adv. Flac.*, p. 971c) reckons that there were 1,000,000 Jews in Egypt. He says (*de Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1023D) that there was a great number of them in Babylon and the neighbouring satrapies. He enumerates (p. 1031-2) the places to which they had spread.

Mithridates those of Asia Minor were rich enough to deposit at Cos 800 talents. Every year the temple of Jerusalem received their offerings, a double drachm contributed by each emigrant,[1] for, with the indomitable tenacity of their race, their prayers were always directed towards the temple of Solomon. Josephus asserts that at a festival 2,700,000 of them were reckoned in the holy city.[2]

Strange to say, two little nations, born in a barren land,

Grotto and Source of the Jordan.

but both of inexhaustible fruitfulness, covered and contested the East. The history of St. Paul's apostolic travels shows, in every city, synagogues side by side with the Greek philosophy, and, as if the two civilizations were advancing to meet one another, the Jews in Greece penetrated even to the foot of the Parthenon, whence they menaced the daughter of Zeus, and Greek civilization

[1] Cic., *pro. Flac.*, 28.
[2] *Bell. Jud.*, vi., 9.

advanced triumphantly as far as Judæa, where they consecrated to Pan and to the Nymphs the grotto whence the Jordan issued.[1] It was in Greek that the apostles were to announce the new law of the Jews; into Greek also that the old was translated by the Septuagint, and in Greek their successors were to defend it. But with the language of Plato many Platonic ideas penetrated into this long-isolated Mosaic world; looking at it from the surface only, it would seem that polytheism and Judaism were already about to come to an agreement, since the eminent men of Greece

Pan and a Nymph.[2]

and Rome had ceased to believe in more than one god, and Josephus and Philo, like their descendants, were deist philosophers rather than doctors of the law. But the crowd did not accept without fierce struggles those compromises which were made above their heads by great intellects, and rivers of blood were shed before the compromise was established.

In their most distant colonies the Jews lived apart by many difficult and often equivocal crafts, and in spite of their apparent

[1] The Jordan flows from the heights which rise above Hashbeya in the Anti-Libanus and afterwards receives the *waters of Banias* (Paneas), which are wrongly regarded as its source, at the northern extremity of Galilee. (Lartet, *Géolog. de la Palestine*, p. 21.)

[2] Museum of Vienna. Marble group of small size. Goat-footed Pan, resting on a leathern bottle, offers to the nymph a bunch of grapes. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 735.)

humility, were full of pride for the purity of their race and their creed, full of scorn for those literary, artistic, frivolous, and gay populations whom they used to their profit by bending before them.

Even in Judæa the repulsion which the mass of the Jews felt towards foreign ideas was increased by a prince who had made himself the representative of an union considered sacrilegious, and who held this stubborn people under an unyielding despotism. Accordingly Judæa was in a strange moral condition. She was agitated by a singular fermentation, which the terrific shock caused by the fall of the great Republic increased yet more. Men took refuge from the present in the illusions of the future; the Mazdean prophecies concerning the *Liberator*, which had penetrated from Persia into Palestine, strengthened, by defining it, the ancient belief in the Messiah, and the apocalyptic books announced the near approach of the glorious and holy reign of a son of David.[1] At Jerusalem 6,000 Pharisees had refused the oath of fidelity to Herod and predicted the advent of a king who should perform miracles.[2]

The whole of the East awaited this master, and in Judæa many believed they were called to realize the prophecy themselves.[3] It was at Jerusalem, therefore, in sight of the Hellenized king, seated on the throne of David, that the great battle of the creeds was imminent.

II.—Northern Frontier.

In order to complete this study of the Roman world, there remain to be noticed some nations who lined the frontier of the Empire, some of them even included in its limits.

[1] The Messiah was not only expected by the Jews who had spread throughout the whole of western Asia, but by the worshippers of Ormuzd, whose triumph was announced by the *Vendidad* and the greater number of the religious writings of the *Mazdeans*. It is from the blending of the ideas contained in the songs of the Hebrew prophets with the Persian doctrines that Apocalypses sprang, the first of which is the Book of Daniel, the last, or at least, the most famous, that of St. John. (Cf. Michel Nicholas, *Doctrines religieuses des Juifs durant les deux siècles antérieures à l'ère chrétienne*, p. 266 *sqq.*)

[2] Κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντα εἶναι, etc. (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.*, xvii.)

[3] See in Josephus (*ibid.*) the troubles which broke out in Judea on the death of Herod; a shepherd declared himself king; a former servant of Herod also took this title; Varus required no less than three legions with the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring kings to quell the disturbances. He caused 2,000 Jews to be crucified.

The Britons.—Britain was allied to Gaul by its population, which was of the same origin, by its Druids, who were affiliated with those of the continent, and by some commercial relations, but not yet by political dependence. Notwithstanding his double expedition Cæsar had been satisfied with a small tribute, which the islanders soon forgot to pay. Octavius, after a few threats, renounced this as a bad debt, having recognized that the conquest of Britain was less necessary to the safety of Gaul than the proconsul had imagined.[1]

But Cæsar was right as regards the east of Gaul. Beyond the Rhine there was a danger ever to be feared, for the tribes who thronged the whole length of the river were the head of the column of barbarians marching for centuries towards the countries of the West.[2] The Gauls had never been able to defend the passage of the river;[3] the Belgæ and the Cimbri had crossed it, and the Suevi had held a province in Gaul for some time. The 120,000 warriors of Ariovistus were the vanguard of that great nation whose tribes reached from the sources of the Danube to the Baltic Sea. We have seen the measures taken by Cæsar and those of Agrippa to prevent a renewal of these attempts, but the ability of the chiefs, the courage of the legions, and all the defensive precautions served only to delay the danger. On coming into collision with Germany, Rome found there a war which began on the edge of the Rhine with Ariovistus and was to end on the banks of the Tiber with Alaric.

The Germans.—The legions had not yet disturbed the Germans so far as to make them form vast confederations as they did afterwards. In their limitless plains and under their venerable forests, a single one of which was sixty days' journey in length, there seethed a chaos of prolific tribes, *gens numerosa*, which were invincible, for a foreign conqueror would not have known where to attack them. They had no towns in which the national life

[1] Strabo, in this place echoing the policy of Augustus and Tiberius, says: "It is reckoned that the amount of taxes the islanders pay on our merchandise exceeds what an annual tribute would yield, deducting the pay of troops necessary to guard the island and collect the taxes there.

[2] *Quum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 16.)

[3] *Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire.* (Cæsar, *ibid.*, i. 33.)

could centre, nothing but poor villages scattered over the cantons, *pagi*. There were no temples; they were not capable of building them—no statues of the gods; they did not know how to make them. They worshipped nature, which they still love so much, the earth, springs, mountains, the forests full of mystery and religious terrors. They had no sacerdotal class, no primogeniture, and accordingly, no warlike aristocracy to hold them under a yoke, though they had acknowledged the right of their priests to punish certain faults; but they had soothsayers, male and female; sacrifices of horses, sometimes of men, and the seeking of the future in the entrails of victims.[1] Their chiefs were chosen from among the bravest.[2] Though the kings chosen out of the consecrated families owed this dignity to their birth as simple representatives of the tribe, they had no prerogative other than to maintain national unity; the council of chiefs, and afterwards the people, discussed the most important affairs, *de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*, and they gave decisions by vote of arms, striking their swords against their bucklers. They did not even entrust public authority with the repression of private crimes; the offended party himself avenged his injury, or he and his friends compelled the aggressor to pay a compensation in cattle.

Thus among the Germans neither religion nor social organization restrained the impetuosity of their fiery nature. And this freedom, this intensity of their spirits they spent in battles or in games almost as terrible, leaping amidst swords and threatening spears, or descending the steep slopes of mountains and over precipices on their shields. After victory came endless revelries; all the booty was spent in them. On awaking they began afresh their distant expeditions. For a free man, a son of that god Tuisto whom they

[1] The head of a family consulted fate just like the priest of the city and the king or chief took with the latter the auspices for public affairs. If religion had particular servants for certain ceremonies, it was still no monopoly. (Cf. Tac., *Germ.*, 10 and 11.) Cæsar says that they had neither a sacerdotal body nor sacrifices, and Tacitus that they had neither temples nor images. In the time of the latter writer they had not yet received the worship of Wodin nor the mythology and the heroic traditions whence arose the *Edda* and the *Nibelungen*.

[2] *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.* (Tac., *ibid.*, 7.) There was, however, a kind of hereditary nobility gained by great services. (*Ibid.*, 13.) These peoples had no common name. The Romans gave them that of *German, Wehrman*, which signifies combatant, warrior; they adopted, at a comparatively modern epoch, that of *Deutsche*. (Waitz, *Verfassungsgesch.*, p. 9.) [The standard work on all questions of German antiquity is now Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Alterthumskunde.—Ed.*]

celebrated in their national songs,[1] did no work; he would have blushed to earn by the sweat of his brow what he could win by bloodshed. His slaves, taken in war or bought, and his wife had the care of his flock, which was his chief wealth, or tilled the field; as for him, he never, even at a feast, laid aside his arms. Like the Redskins, he considered the chase and fighting the only occupations fit for a warrior.[2] Their religion reflected the habits and inmost thoughts of its believers; in the Walhalla, the Olympus

German Priestess in a Chariot drawn by Oxen.[3]

of the Germans, there was nothing but continual battles and prolonged feasts.

The German women were fit companions for their husbands. On the day of the betrothal they received as a gift some oxen,

[1] *Tuistonem* must be a false reading from the *Germania* of Tacitus; it ought to be read *Teutonem*. (Holtzmann, *Erklärung von Tacitus Germania.*)

[2] The Suevi, says Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 1; vi. 22), are not acquainted with individual ownership of the soil. Every year the chiefs assigned to each his lot. The same social condition still existed in the time of Tacitus (*Germ.*, 26); it afterwards changed, thanks to the neighbourhood of the Gaulo-Romans, whose customs by degrees extended into Germany. Moreover, the house of the German and his enclosure, which doubtless formed the *salic land*, were naturally excluded, as was lately the case in Russia, from the annual distribution, which applied only to what we call the *communal property*.

[3] From the column of Marcus-Aurelius, called also the Antonine column.

a war-horse, and a buckler with the sword and the framea;[1] these masculine gifts showed them that they would have to take their part in dangers: *sic vivendum, sic pereundum.* Blood did not terrify them. "They bring their wounds to their mothers and their wives, and the latter do not hesitate to count the hurts and to probe their depth. In the fray they cheer and encourage the combatants. It is said that armies have been seen wavering and half broken which women have rallied to the charge, showing captivity to be worse than death. . . . Accordingly they believe that there is in this sex something divine and prophetic. They do not despise their counsels or forget their predictions."

At Rome it was by assuming the toga, the dress of the city and of peace, that the young man became a citizen; among the Germans he could not sit among the warriors until he had received in the public assembly the buckler and the lance. From that day he engaged himself to some renowned leader. "There is," says Tacitus, "a great emulation amongst comrades for the highest place about the chief, and amongst the chiefs to possess the most numerous and the bravest comrades. In action it would be disgraceful for the chief to be outdone in courage, for his companions not to equal him in bravery. This association for peril and glory formed the adventurous bands which for four centuries were to harass the Roman Empire, dealing it a thousand blows for one that it was able to parry.

Germany was not entirely parcelled out into these isolated groups, redoubtable for pillage, for a bold raid, but incapable of maintaining a serious struggle against organized troops. She had large tribes who occasionally acted as a national body and then became formidable. The Cimbri, the Teutones, the Suevi, and the Tenctheri, whom we have seen in Gaul, the Bructeri, the Chauci, the Cherusci, and the Marcomanni, whom the legions were to fight in Germany, were powerful bodies of men; the former had already made the soldiers of Marius and Cæsar tremble; the others were to annihilate those of Varus.

[1] This was the germ of the dowry of our mediæval customs, the husband portioning the wife. The barbaric laws also called upon the wife to share *conquests*; this was the commencement of community. (De Valroger, *Les Celtes*, p. 170; see above, p. 102, a similar Gallic custom.)

Under the warriors were the *lites*, who without being slaves, were not free; they were the remnants or descendants of conquered tribes. They had wives and children; they could appear in a court of justice, but they were not admitted to the public assembly, and they laboured for the profit of those who had taken them under their patronage, *mundium*.

Tacitus affirms that this rude and brutal society treated the slave with kindness, respected women, opened every house to the

German Family.[1]

stranger, and guaranteed to the accused the judgment of his peers; more than one custom of feudal Europe was there contained in germ. Those kings, for example, whom we find without power, but surrounded with religious respect, were afterwards to leave their forests and their obscurity to ascend the throne of Clovis, and some of those chiefs to whom their companions gave themselves for life and death became the ancestors of noble lords who owed their power to the devotion of their faithful friends.[2] When these

[1] From the Antonine column.

[2] I do not mean that our nobles of the Middle Ages were descended from the Germans. After the invasions, the principle of Roman, Gallic, and German vassalage, namely, the devotion of man to man, again appeared, owing to the circumstances in which the new society was placed.

violent men, of fierce aspect, their bodies half covered with the skin of the aurochs or the fallow deer, sang their savage songs with their mouths pressed against their bucklers, there was no heart so brave that it did not tremble, and yet their blue and wide eyes, their ruddy faces shaded by yellow hair showed that these wild children would grow calm and suffer themselves to be led by a friendly voice. The softened Sicambrian would droop his head to listen to the birds of the air, the thousand mysterious voices of the great forests; in time, to the hymns of priests straying among the arches of Gothic cathedrals; still later he would be a dreamy poet or inquiring scholar, but always retain somewhat of his native brutality and often his ignorance of good and evil.

Many of the features of this picture are borrowed from the poetic historian, who delighted in embellishing the manners of the barbarians in order to contrast them with the vices of the Romans. The book of Tacitus is the historic gospel of our neighbours, and they have extracted from it a number of admirable things for the honour of their race. With imprudent generosity our scholars have long supported them in their pretensions to see in modern civilization no factor but Germanism, *das Germanenthum*, as if the other nations had lived inert and silent until the new revelation had come down from the Germanic Sinai. By declining to ascribe to the Gauls all the virtues which have been attributed to them, we gain the right of refusing to the Germans the glory which they confer on themselves. The truth is, that for four centuries this race of plunderers was the scourge of the world, and Gregory of Tours answers Tacitus, when he points out the evil and coarse instincts of these men, who had no respect for oaths, no pity for the conquered, and no faith towards women, children, and the weak. "Search with care," says a very learned man, "what civilization owes to the conquerors of the empire of the West; it will be very difficult to find any good for which we can give them the credit." [1]

That of the devotion of citizen to city, which had made the great Republics of Greece and Rome, remained obscurely preserved in old municipalities, where it reappeared gloriously at the time of the communal revolution.

[1] Guérard, *Prolégomènes du Polyptyque d'Irminon*, vol. i. p. 300. I find my words confirmed by the recent work of Sickel, *Gesch. der deutschen Staatsverfassung*, who says (p. 59) that this race had no sense of right beyond that which existed in the army of Clovis, and that the vaunted *deutsche Treue* is mere legend [like the virtues ascribed in F. Cooper's novels to the cruel and faithless Red Indians.—*Ed.*]

Why did not Rome subdue Germany as she did Gaul? At the banks of the Rhine the Græco-Roman world came to an end with its semi-barbarous Gauls; on the other side began an unknown world, where Rome found none to prepare the way for her. In Africa, Carthage; in Spain, the Phœnicians and the Greeks; in Gaul, Marseilles; in Asia, the successors of Alexander had struggled and conquered for her in advance; everywhere she had found a point of support, a work of assimilation begun. Here there was nothing; not a glimpse of antique civilization had crossed the Rhine and the Danube to guide her steps and illuminate her path over this soil deluged with the sluggish waters of rivers or hidden under impenetrable forests. And this world, where seethed an exuberant life, she reached at the moment when she herself lost her martial vigour, when her work was accomplished, and she sought only to fall asleep amid pleasure and peace! This was the great danger of the Empire.

The Dacians.—The danger is usually perceived only on the Rhine, because there the greatest blows were struck, but it existed also on the Danube, and barbarism endeavoured to emerge by both gates at once. Even before Actium the legions had to hasten to the two frontiers of Germany. Agrippa had pacified the Rhine, and Octavius had penetrated into the valley of the Danube through conquered Illyria, and terrified Pannonia. We have seen that he left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta, the strongest place in the latter province. But this expedition was an audacious act, and the garrison established in the Pannonian city was but an outpost boldly sent to a distance from the body of the army. All round Segesta and on the other side of the river dwelt warlike tribes, a mixture of Gauls, Illyrians, Thracians, and Germans, from whom a surprise was always to be expected. Had not the Bastarnæ, who were now taking refuge with the Getæ, on one occasion set out for Italy, and had not the Scordisci afterwards held sway from the banks of the Save to the heart of Thrace, and even to the shores of the Adriatic?

In the midst of their deserts these half-nomadic hordes resembled the waves which in a calm run wilfully along the coast, but which the winds raise into furious billows. At the voice of an able and resolute man these tribes often united for a time and established formidable empires. A Getan, Byrebistas, had recently

got all his people under his command, by the policy of Attila, by extolling religious and military fanaticism.[1] All had submitted to him, from the Euxine to Noricum.[2] The Boii, driven out of Italy, had found an asylum amongst these peoples; Byrebistas had forced them to flee once more towards the Vindelici, and had turned their country into a desert. The Taurisci met with the same fate, an unexpected retaliation for the incursions of these robber-tribes into upper Italy; Thrace, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia, had been laid waste, and the Romans were already imagining more serious alarms when this great chief perished in an insurrection, and with him his empire.

Broken up into five petty States, the Dacians had lost all ambition. They were, however, able to arm 40,000 fighting men, and it was less against the Pannonians than against them that Octavius had left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta. Events justified these alarms. The greatest military disgrace of the Empire was inflicted on it by this people. The Cherusci indeed, killed Varus and three legions, but the Dacians compelled Domitian to pension their chiefs.

Like so many great rivers, the Danube has but a shallow entrance into the sea; thus no important town had arisen near its mouth. The Bastarnæ, the Getæ, the Sarmatæ, wandered on its banks, armed with poisoned arrows and waiting till winter should throw a bridge of ice across the river to enable them to carry off a few captives and a meagre booty from the other side.[3] Herodotus gives the Getæ a good reputation. He terms them the bravest and most honourable of the Thracians. "The Getæ," he adds, "believe themselves immortal, and think that he who dies departs to find their god Zalmoxis, and banquets without end.[4] Every

[1] See p. 391. There has been much discussion about the Daci, the Getæ, and the Thracians, and there will be for a long time, because we know in the Getic language only 144 *proper names*, which are not enough to determine the character of this dialect. It seems however, that we may allow that all the tribes established on the two banks of the lower Danube, the Daci north of the river, the Getæ south, the Thracians in the Balkans and towards the Ægean Sea, have had a common origin. Again, Wietersheim connects the Getæ with the Goths, admitting that they must have been long separated.

[2] Strabo, vii. 3, 5.

[3] Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii. 9.

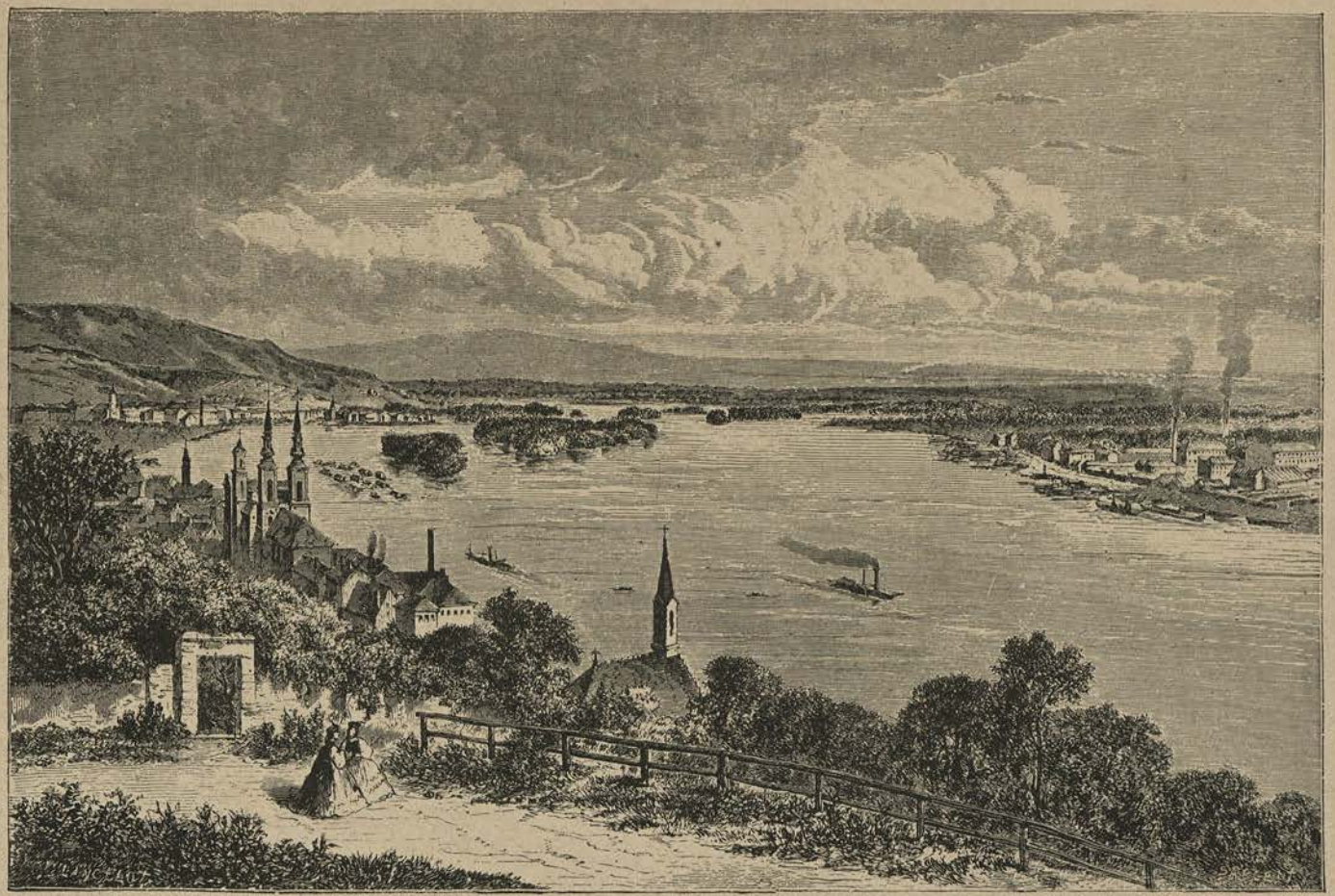
[4] This Zalmoxis was the Thracian Dionysos and the Phrygian Sabazios. Funeral inscriptions have been found in Thrace recalling the joys promised to those initiated into the Dionysian mysteries. (Fr. Lenormant, *Voie eleusinienne*. 410–412.)

five years they choose by lot one of their nation and send him to carry news of them to Zalmoxis, with orders to lay their needs before him. These same Thracians also discharge arrows at the sky when it thunders, in order to threaten the god who hurls the thunderbolts, being persuaded that there is no god but the one they worship." These customs lead us to doubt the alleged justice of the Getæ.

Dacian Combatants (see p. 637).[1]

Scythians and Sarmatians.—Beyond the Getæ, as far as the Palus Mæotis, the whole of the fertile coast of the Euxine was abandoned to barbarians. The Scythians of Herodotus still wandered there, living on the flesh of their horses and the milk of their mares. They dwelt in waggons which continually transported them from the banks of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) to those of the Tanaïs (Don). One of their tribes, the royal Scythians,

[1] Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre, No. 349 of the Clarac Catalogue. This fragment, executed in a beautiful style, may have belonged to a triumphal arch. The dress of the barbarian—two tunics, one with long, the other with short sleeves—is the same as that of the Daci sculptured on Trajan's column. The conical hut of reeds adorned with branches of oak recalls the habitations of the Germans.



The Danube (near Linz).

exercised a kind of supremacy over the rest of the nation and supplied the king. Nevertheless, each horde had its separate

Scythian Vase of Silver.[1]

chief, its particular religion and customs. Some of them had

[1] This silver vase was found in 1862 at Nicopolis in southern Russia, in the sepulchre of a Scythian king. It is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg. It is a curious and beautiful specimen of ancient silver work. (Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq.*, p. 803, *s.v. Cælatura.*)

settled along the Borysthenes and the Hypanis (Bug), where they cultivated grain; others had come under the influence of the Greek colony of Olbia.

These tribes seemed to be unconquerable. "Of all the peoples whom we know," says Herodotus, "the Scythians are those who have found the surest means of preserving their liberty, namely, not to suffer themselves to be approached, when they do not wish to fight." [1]

East of the Tanaïs dwelt the Sarmatæ, who were sometime to inherit the power of the Scythians, and who were in their turn replaced by the Slavs, tribes long in obscurity, but whom the half of Europe and a third of Asia does not now seem to satisfy.

Thucydides said of the Scythian nations that they would have been irresistible had they been united.[2] Distance deceived the grave historian. These little-known peoples, who had defied Darius in Europe, and Alexander in Asia, appeared indeed very strong; but like their descendants they were so for resistance rather than for conquest. Rome, protected against them by the Carpathians and the Danube, had nothing to fear from them, and the Greek colonies established on the banks of the Euxine lived without any great anxiety in the neighbourhood of these barbarians, paying tribute to some, waging war against others, and endeavouring to allure the nearest to Hellenic civilization. One of these kings had caused a vast house to be built in Olbia, adorned with sculptured sphinxes and griffins.[3] At the mouth of the Don there was even a flourishing Greek kingdom, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which, while forming an independent State, was on that side a vanguard, as it were, of the civilized world, and consequently a sentinel of the Empire in the midst of the Scythian nations.

[1] The *Tristia* and *Pontic Epistles* of Ovid, the *Toxaris* of Lucian, the inscription of Olbia (No. 2058 of the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*), Strabo (vii. 3, 4), and Pausanias (viii. 43, 3) describe the Scythians in the same manner as Herodotus.

[2] Thucyd., ii. 97.

[3] Karamsin, *Hist. de Russie*, vol. i. p. 5, of the French translation.

III.—Eastern and Southern Frontier.

Kingdom of the Bosphorus and Peoples of the Caucasus.—This kingdom had been left by Pompey to the parricidal son of the great Mithridates. Pharnaces had dared to oppose Cæsar, and this audacity had cost him his crown and his life. Asander, whom he had left in his States, had killed him on his return from his unfortunate expedition (47 B.C.), and had assumed his place. At the time with which we are concerned, he possessed this kingdom, which, by its commerce, was the centre of the transactions of the Roman world with the East, and by its fertility, the granary of the oriental provinces.

Since the time when the Parthians had closed to merchants the routes of Central Asia, the products of upper Asia reached Europe by the Caspian Sea and the Bosphorus. Caravans from the Greek cities went to seek them beyond the Volga, whither the gold of the Ural was brought, and at this point of contact between the civilized and the barbarian world immense sales took place of the commodity then most common, but which was nevertheless the best investment, slaves. But the mountaineers of the Caucasus infested the eastern waters of the Euxine with their piracies. Large vessels were not necessary. A few planks joined by ropes, with neither iron nor copper, made a boat, and in one day a whole fleet left the dockyard and the port. If the sea became rough they added a few boards to the planking; the higher the billows mounted, the higher the frail wall rose; they closed it at last in the form of an arch, then boldly abandoned themselves to the waves and landed where the tempest threw them [at least so Tacitus says].[1] Some Greeks, however, still remained on that side; Dioscurias, on the boundary of Colchis, traded, it is said, with 300 tribes.

The isthmus which separated Europe from the Caspian sea was cut by two valleys: that of the Phasis or Colchis,[2] which reached to the Euxine, and that of the Cyrus or Iberia and

[1] Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 47.

[2] A maternal uncle of Strabo had been, under Mithridates, governor of Colchis. (xi. 499.)

Albania which opened on the Caspian. Both led to the *Caucasian Gates*, a narrow pass, cut by nature between inaccessible mountains and shut in by a gate of iron.[1]

The Colchi, who are supposed to have been descendants of a

Cylinder of Chalcedony found in a Tomb of Cimmerian Bosphorus.[2]

colony left by Sesostris on the banks of the Phasis, had formerly been celebrated for their wealth and industry; their country no longer supplied anything but the materials necessary for naval constructions, but these it furnished in great abundance; for on the very shore of the sea rose mountains from 4,000 to 5,000 feet high, covered with thick forests. This wild soil produced a robust race, industrious and brave. Rome had probably already placed them under the government of Polemon, who had obtained part of Pontus from Antony, and who afterwards received from Augustus the kingdom of the Bosphorus with the charge of preserving order in those distant regions.

Polemon I. Crowned with a Diadem.

The [Eastern] Iberians were of two kinds, the more numerous, inhabiting the mountainous region, were very war-like; the others in the plain, tilled their fields and willingly lived in peace. Their customs were those of Armenians or the Medes, even to the

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 12; *Ubi fores obditæ ferratis trabibus . . . . terrarum orbe portis discluso.* It is now the defile of Dariel, on the road from Mosdok to Tiflis, on the banks of the Terek. The valley between Laars and Dariel is so shut in that in the longest days the sun only reaches it for a few hours.

[2] It represents a king of Persia dragging four prisoners and seizing the hostile chief.

oriental castes. The king, his family, and the nobles formed the first class; the priests, who were at the same time judges, the second; the soldiers and husbandmen the third, the common people, slaves of the king, who were subject to all kinds of drudgery, the fourth. Property in each family was held in common, but was managed by the eldest of the house, who alone ruled.[1] Many features of this picture suggest the Georgians of to-day.

The Albanians differed little from the Iberians, and Strabo bears witness that, like them, they had only a moderate delight in war. We thus understand how the Alani, who dwelt to the north of the Caucasus, were able easily to force those formidable defiles. Herdsmen devoted to the care of their flocks could not be a serious obstacle for a people who scalped and adorned themselves with the hair of their enemies.

Armenia.—Armenia was the table land whence the Tigris and Euphrates descend, whence the mountains which covered western Asia radiate. The Caucasus, an isolated wall, half Asiatic, half European, stretches northwards, and sends southwards only short branches which lose themselves in the isthmus, where flow the Phasis (Rhion) and the Cyrus (Kour). Ararat, on the contrary, is the geological centre with which may be connected all the chains of Asia Minor, Syria and Media. This great mountain, which rears its volcanic mass crowned with eternal snow 17,000 feet above the Euxine, was called by the Armenians "the mother of the world," by the Turks the mountain of Noah; and from afar they pointed out upon its summit the spot where rested the ark which saved the human race. "Spirits armed with a flaming sword guard the sacred vessel, green as the grass of the slopes."[2] These traditions show that Ararat early attracted the attention of the nations, but its historic is even greater than its legendary importance. It makes Armenia in western Asia what Switzerland is in Europe: a natural fortress, a commanding position in which lay the keys to the surrounding countries. Hence the strategical importance of Armenia in the wars of the Romans and the Parthians. Did the former obtain possession of this high table-land, the

[1] Herod., ii. 102–106; Strabo, xi. 498, etc.

[2] Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie*, vol. vi. p. 249.

Parthians were threatened on their flank; did the latter, they could overrun the Roman provinces with their innumerable cavalry.

Unluckily for itself, Armenia was incessantly mixed up in the history of the two empires; it became the battlefield of their intrigues and their arms. To the evils of war were added internal discords, dividing it amidst its two formidable neighbours, both of whom it hated, and receiving at their hands ten kings in less than fifty years. Quite recently Artavasdes, taken captive to Alexandria by Marc Antony, had there been put to death by Cleopatra. "But," says Tacitus, "the tragic end of the father made an irreconcilable enemy of his son Artaxias, who, helped by the Arsacidæ, managed to defend both his person and his States." Augustus reduced this dangerous independence to order.

The Parthians.—These Arsacidæ, who had already twice conquered the legions, divided with the Romans the dominion over the known world, and seemed to be the most formidable danger which the Empire had to fear. They took the old Persian title of *king of kings* [which nearly corresponds to our *emperor*], for from them arose a great number of princes, the kings of Bactriana of Media Atropatene, of Armenia, of Adiabene, of Elymais, of Persis, of Characene, and they were allied to the chiefs of the numerous hordes of the same origin as their nation, who, under the name of Massagetæ and Alani, had spread between lake Aral and the Tanaïs. From the Indus to the Euphrates all appeared subject to their power, and they had often threatened Asia Minor and Syria. But what the Rhine was for Roman the Euphrates was for Hellenic civilization. The Greek world was bounded by its banks.[2] It was owing to this that all the countries west of that river had so readily entered into the Roman empire. Beyond was a different country and different men. Neither the Romans nor the Parthians had any interest in changing these barriers; they would not have succeeded had they wished, for other laws

Attambilus, King of the Characeni, Vassal of Parthia.[1]

[1] From a coin of the year 14 B.C. (*Cabinet de France.*)

[2] As far as social organization went, but not with regard to literature and language, for Greek was spoken in all the courts of the East [as far as Bactria], and we find the Parthian kings assume on their coins the title of ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ.

than conquest determine the lasting bonds of the great bodies we term empires. The Germans might overrun Gaul, from the need of giving themselves space, sun, and a more comfortable life. But those Parthians, who lived on horseback or in tents, what had they to do in Libanus or Taurus? Would they come to shut themselves up in the 500 towns of Asia, they, who did not even enter [the Eastern] Seleucia, which had remained a Greek colony at the gates of Ctesiphon.[1]

This Empire, moreover, had only the semblance of greatness and strength. Feudalism, which men would fain attribute only to the Europe of the Middle Ages, has at all times prevailed in Asia. Under the kings there appears a powerful aristocracy whose chiefs were the surenas or generals, and who bestowed or took away the crown, imposing on themselves the rule of choosing the king from the eldest branch of the Arsacidæ.[2] To counterbalance this influence, the kings were accustomed to associate with themselves during their lifetime one of their sons; but as they rarely chose the eldest, and as the brothers of the chosen son always found some great people to support their claim, this selection became a source of crimes and wars; the throne of the king of kings tottered amidst bloodshed. Now that the external policy of the Romans became more systematic and vigilant, the emperors did not fail to have some one of the Arsacidæ at hand to hold the court of Ctesiphon in perpetual dread of a revolution.

One event will suffice to describe this barbarous monarchy. Two Jews, Asineus and Asileus, weavers, in the town of Nierda, being beaten by their master, took refuge in an island of the Euphrates and called round them all the banditti of the neighbourhood. Their band rapidly increased, and they were very soon strong enough to levy tribute on the country, slaughtering the flocks of those who refused, but promising to protect the rest.

[1] Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 42, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 30. Seleucia sustained against the Parthians a siege which lasted four years. (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 9; Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 1 *sqq.*) The monument of Ancyræ calls the satraps, *principes et reges.* Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 29) says; *Regna Parthorum duodeviginti sunt omnia, ita enim dividunt provincias.*

[2] Strabo (xi. 515) speaks of two councils who made the choice, one composed of members of the royal family, the other of sages and magi. Unfortunately, Strabo refers for details to his *Historical Memoirs,* which are lost, and a whole book of which he had devoted to the customs of the Parthians.

The report of this reached king Artabanus, and the governor of Babylon received orders to put down this smouldering revolt. The satrap was beaten, to the great delight of the prince, who was charmed with the courage of the two brothers, and desired to see them at his table. "His object," says the author of this narrative, "was to gain the Jews, that the fear they inspired might keep the nobles to their duty, for the latter used to threaten to revolt as soon as they saw the king occupied elsewhere." One of the Parthian generals, indignant at the honours paid to these miscreants, desired to kill them even at the monarch's table: "Do not act thus," said king Artabanus to him, "they have received my pledge; but if you insist on avenging the Parthians for the disgrace they have undergone, when they have departed, attack them openly, without mixing me in the affair." The next day he dismissed the two brothers. "It is not well," said he, "for you to remain here longer, you would draw upon you the hatred of the chiefs of my forces, and they would attempt your life, without asking my leave. I commend to you the province of Babylon; protect it from the ravages which might be committed there. This is an acknowledgment you owe me for not listening to those who desired your death."

Coin of a King or Governor of Babylonia.[1]

The two Jews returned to their island and long dwelt there, respected by the governors and reverenced by the Babylonians, whom they protected, and all-powerful in Mesopotamia. More than once these upstarts adopted royal whims, following the example of the great lords of the neighbourhood. Thus Anilcus one day saw the wife of a satrap, fell in love with her, and, to enable him to marry her, declared war against her husband, who was killed in the combat. On another occasion he pillaged the lands of a powerful man named Mithridates, who, with a numerous body of cavalry, attempted to avenge himself; being conquered and made prisoner, he was placed quite naked on an ass and led about for a long time amidst hootings, after which the Jews had the audacity to send him away free. This Mithridates was

[1] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ; a Victory standing. Bronze coin.

nevertheless the greatest lord among the Parthians, and even the son-in-law of the king! And it was in the heart of the monarchy, in the provinces where the court resided, that these unpunished revolts, these insults to the royal majesty, these private wars, recalling our own feudal times, took place! It may easily be seen that the Roman empire, so thoroughly disciplined, could not be injured by such enemies.

Nomadic Tribes of Asia and Africa.—"The Euphrates," says Strabo, "separates the Parthians from the Romans, but the river is lined with Arabs who obey neither, and who levy contributions upon merchants and travellers." The whole line of the southern frontiers was equally covered with deserts or with troublesome, though not dangerous, tribes. South of Palestine, the Nabathæan Arabs formed, in the peninsula of mount Sinai, a kingdom, the chief of which being an enemy of the king of the Jews, sought protection against him at Rome. Its capital, Petra, two days' march from any inhabited country, was the centre of the commerce of Yemen with southern Asia and Europe; accordingly, the Roman merchants began to hasten thither, and like Palmyra, that other queen of the desert, Petra still offers to the eyes of the traveller who succeeds in penetrating to it, the ruins of temples, triumphal arches, and an amphitheatre. Rome has left her mark even on that sea of shiftless sand which effaces everything.

Ptolemy Euergetes.[1]

In the upper valley of the Nile wandered the Blemmyes and the Nubians; three cohorts stationed at Syene sufficed to close against them the entrance to Egypt. On the high plateau of Abyssinia there reigned princes who afterwards called themselves descendants of Solomon [and the queen of Sheba]. Ptolemy Euergetes, to whose victories the obelisk of Axum, still standing, bears witness, had taken from them several provinces which his feeble successors did not retain. The Axumites whom he had shown the way to India, had seized upon that rich commerce which was favoured by their position near Bab-el-Mandeb, a dreaded passage named by the Arabs *the Gate of Tears*. The

[1] Bust with radiated crown of the king, with the ægis, a trident on the shoulder. From a gold coin.

Abyssinian kingdom soon afterwards increased, as in the remote time when it had threatened the empire of the Pharaohs; but its ambition was directed towards Arabia, which it governed.

Libyan Chief.[1]

The Romans possessed in Africa little more than the coast line. Moreover, save in Cyrenaica, the nomads, from Egypt to lake Trito were still the true masters of the country, some permanently settled in a few oases or wandering about with their flocks, others living by robberies. "These Libyans sleep in the open air, and have only the instincts of lower animals. Their chiefs possess no towns, but have some towers situated on the banks of rivers, where they keep their provisions. The stranger is to them an enemy. They kill all whom they meet." (Diodorus.)

[1] Head in bronze, discovered at Cyrene in the ruins of the temple of Apollo, now in the British Museum. M. Trivier thinks it to be the fragment of a portrait-statue erected in the sanctuary where the head was discovered. (Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1878. p. 60, and pl. viii.)

[2] ΑΦΙΛΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; bust of the king surrounded by two ears of corn. Gold coin.

King of Axum.[2]

CHAPTER LXIV.

ITALY AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

I.—Italy.

THE voyage we have just made through the Roman provinces and the countries adjacent to them brings us back directly opposite Spain, whence we set out to make the circuit of the Mediterranean. But in the middle of the sea, unique in the whole world for the beauty of its shores, towards which the eyes of twenty nations converged, we have left the peninsula which rose up like a lofty citadel, whence Rome watched over and ruled her Empire. An impregnable position, had she continued well supplied with strength and courage!" [1]

Unhappily, Italy had grievously atoned for her victories, and it was only to ancient times that the poet's magnificent salutation could apply:

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum!

What, indeed, now remained of the old Italian race? and was Italy herself still that fruitful soil whither the gods were believed to have come in order to give the first lessons in agricultural wisdom? Here and there, certainly, there were traces of former fertility; in some places marvels were shown: a vine which bore 2,000 bunches of grapes, another at Rome itself, which yielded twelve amphoræ of wine. Varro used to boast also of the corn of Campania and Apulia, the wine of Falernum, the oil

[1] Strabo says (vi. 286); "Italy, being in the midst of all the countries occupied by the greatest nations, seems made to give laws to them, and owing to their nearness can easily compel them to obedience." See the eulogium passed upon it by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 6); *Numine deum electa quæ . . . ., sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret.*

of Venafrum, and "that multitude of trees which," he says, "make our country one vast orchard. But in general the richness of the soil had disappeared with the old traditions of cultivation,[1] and the corn yielded on an average only fourfold.[2] "We have abandoned the care of our ground to the lowest of our slaves," said Columella, "and they treat it like barbarians. We have schools of rhetorics, geometers, and musicians. I have even seen where they teach the lowest professions, such as the art of cooking food or dressing the hair; but nowhere have I found for agriculture either professor or pupil. Meanwhile, even in Latium, in order to avoid famine, we must draw our corn from countries beyond the seas, and wine from the Cyclades, Bœtica, and Gaul."

The harvests of Sicily, Africa and Egypt, given away or sold very cheaply in the maritime cities, that is, at all places of large consumption, offer a formidable competition to the meagre crops of Italy; the foreign corn succeeded in killing the native.[3] Then they raised cattle, which sold better, substituting pasture for ploughed land, cultivation of which Jupiter bore all the expense, for that requiring much labour, and on these *latifundia*, there was neither employment for the agricultural workman nor room for the petty proprietor.[4]

Thus the Italian soil was impoverished, and Italy depopulated.

To the economic causes of this depopulation we must add the political and military causes; all the bloodshed since the time of [Hannibal], the Gracchi, the war of the Marsi, and the more terrible anger of Sylla; then, so many Italian legions decimated by fatigues and war, so many colonists sent out of the peninsula,

[1] Since the time of the war of the pirates Italy could not supply itself with food. Cicero (*pro leg. Manil.*, 12, 15); *Eos portus quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis.*

[2] *Majore quidem parte Italiæ . . . . cum quarto responderint.* (Columella, *de Re rust.*, iii. 3.) Varro nevertheless speaks of fifteenfold in Etruria *et locis aliquot in Italia.* (*de Re rust.*, i. 44.) The average return in France is from ten to twelvefold; in England it is sometimes nearly double as great.

[3] In imitation of Rome distributions of corn were often made in the towns of Italy by rich private merchants.

[4] *Villarum infinita spatia.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 53.) A freedman half ruined by the Civil war still possessed 3,600 pairs of ploughing oxen, 150,000 head of small cattle, and 4,416 slaves. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 47.) [The very same passage from agriculture to pasture is now taking place in England and Ireland owing to the competition of foreign, especially American, wheat. We too, have our *latifundia*, the estates of great lords, and the constant tendency of country-folk to move into the towns. No legislation will ever stop this movement, founded on the seeking of social comforts and material luxuries.—*Ed.*]

and those continual migrations of adventurers going to seek their fortune at a distance. They were Romans, the world belonged to them, and now that indigence was a disgrace, would they modestly continue to till their fields as in the time of the ancient poverty! It was better far to avail themselves in the provinces of their rights as citizens, gain the favour of a patron, magistrate or publican, and to obtain some lucrative employment in those commercial societies so numerous in the Empire that every important town had a colony of Roman merchants.[1] If we have found so many Italians in Asia in the times of Mithridates, how many were there now? How many, again, in Egypt, in Syria, in Carthage, which even at that hour they were restoring; in Spain, where half the country already spoke Latin; in Gaul, where they had completed the invasion of Narbonensis, and had begun that of Gallia Celtica and Aquitania? Soon we shall see them in the depths of Germany amongst the Marcomanni and the Cherusci, and even in solitudes, where the Arab who met them stopped in amazement before those men of an unknown world.

Thus the Roman people were scattered throughout the world, but Rome itself encumbered with a starving crowd, *misera ac jejuna plebecula*, which must not be examined too near, lest the traces of the whip and the irons should be seen under their ragged togas.[2] In this multitude, drawn from such low classes, Livy saw no more soldiers.[3] Columella speaks of young Romans of good family so ruined by dissipation before their time that death had little left to do.[4]

Thus the fate that afterwards befel Spain under Philip II. was happening to Italy; she was exhausting herself in setting up a colossal domination, and paying for her glory by incurable wretchedness. The sun never set on the empire of the son of Charles V., Peru sent him its treasures, his fleets covered the sea, his armies threatened the whole of Europe, and with so much wealth

[1] It was somewhat like the spread of the Spanish race in the sixteenth century and of the Greek race in more ancient times; and both exhausted themselves in peopling other countries.

[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 4; Val. Max., vi. 2, 3. Cicero says the same thing in other words: *Sin victi essent boni, quid superesset? Non ad servos videtis rem venturam fuisse?* (*Pro Sext.*, 21.) On the immense number of freedmen, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 27, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 120.

[3] Livy, vii. 25.

[4] *De Re rust.*, in præfat.

and power, Spain fell into decay, its fields were changed into deserts, its towns into straggling villages, its castles into ruins, and their masters, the proud hidalgos, covered the country with a race of beggars. The foundation which supported the building having given way, the whole soon fell in. Happily for Italy, she had risen slowly, and slowly she fell.

This state of things struck discerning eyes. Cæsar had been alarmed at seeing the evil which had destroyed Greece spreading over Italy.[1] In order to arrest the migrations which were depopu-

Family of Emigrants.[2]

lating the peninsula, and to counteract the *absenteeism* which was impoverishing it, he had decreed that no citizen could remain more than three years in succession in the provinces, unless for some legal hindrance; and he compelled his colonist veterans to remain twenty years on their fields before obtaining a right to sell them. But the troubles of the second triumvirate again unsettled everything. The proscriptions, the war of Perugia, and especially the new triumviral colonies, heaped fresh and greater miseries on Italy. It has been reckoned that from Cæsar's dictatorship to

[1] Δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία. (Dion, xliii. 25.)

[2] Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, No. 57.)

the early years of the princedom of Augustus, sixty-three towns were given over to veterans who came from every province and were recruited from every race![1] After these evictions the roads of Italy were covered with emigrants whom hunger drove to Rome. And, while they filled the Forum and the temples[2] with their lamentations, those whom they left behind on their lands squandered, in a few months of revelling, the property which had nourished ten generations of husbandmen. Usury undid what violence had done. How few of these idle and rough soldiers attached themselves to the soil, brought up a family, founded a house. The greater part, continuing war in the midst of peace,[3] plundered their neighbours, and when they found nothing more to take, sold their land to some rich monopolist, in order to rush to Rome to play the sovereign people, to live at the gate of a patron, to sit in the circus, or stretch out the hand on the Sublician bridge and eat in a corner of the Forum the *sportula* which they had begged.

Thus as Rome increased, she overflowed her walls and all her gates! Around the great town there was [as now is the case with London] another, *suburbana*, which descended towards Ostia, or ran along the Appian and the Latin Ways, reached towards Tusculum or Tibur, and crossing the river mounted the Janiculum and the Vatican. Magna Grecia was desolate, *deleta*, save two or three towns which their position protected, and the country of the Samnites was desert. Beneventum in the great pass between the two declivities of the southern Apennines alone maintained a little life;[4] Sabina and Etruria were at the point of death. In the Middle Ages, after the disaster of la Melloria, whoever wished to see Pisa went to Genoa; he who now looked for Italy

[1] From the moment when Marius, changing the manner of recruiting the legions, had taken proletaries for soldiers, he had made the system of military colonies indispensable; the State owed lands to these veterans, who owned none.

[2] See this picture in Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 12 *sqq.*); ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἵ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες, ἡ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς, παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ, ἐθρήνουν, and above, pp. 490–491.

[3] On the violence of the colonists, see Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiv. 27): *Neque conjugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti, orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant.*

[4] Mommsen (*Inscr. reg. Neapol.*, p. 133) has found only 581 Latin inscriptions for Bruttium, Iapygia, and Lucania, including the most insignificant ones, compared with nearly 8,000 which he has collected for all the inland provinces of the Neapolitan country, a proof that after the ruin of the Greek cities the Romans abandoned this region to their shepherds and farmers. Municipal life was dead, where it had been so active under the Hellenic race.

had only to dwell at Rome. How many were there? Some say four, six, even 8,000,000, others only 562,000. This figure ought probably to be tripled. "Divine nature," says Varro, sadly, "had made the country, man made the towns."

Meanwhile the rich from time to time fled far from this crowd, to the hills of Latium and southern Etruria. "There, where our fathers won triumphs," says Florus, "their descendants build villas." They were to be seen most frequently near the

Appian Way (Present State).

beautiful shores of the bay of Naples, which was covered with magnificent structures. The gloomy forest which surrounded Avernus had fallen under the axe of Agrippa's legionaries, and numerous buildings, crowning those dreaded hills, were reflected in the limpid lake which had been named the mouth of hell. In this corner of Italy was centred an activity no longer to be found save at Rome. Agrippa there completed his great work of causing Cocceius Nerva to construct a subterranean road from Avernus

Baiæ (from the Devonshire Virgil).

to Cumæ, and he was about to dig or enlarge the famous grotto of Pausilipus, which owed its name to the Sans-Souci of Vedius Pollio.[1]

At Puteoli, the sound of twenty languages, and the infinite variety of costumes and commodities, indicated one of the great markets of the Empire. Near it lay the enchanted shores of Baiæ, which Horace calls the most beautiful place in the world; islands and promontories confining the sea into an immense tranquil lake, the breezes of which tempered the heat of a brilliant sun; all the beauties of heaven and earth, all the poetic terrors of legend and nature; the dark cave of the Sibyl with her dreaded oracles, the kingdom of shadows which Virgil was about to open with his golden bough, and the Phlegræan fields emitting their infernal vapours with ominous sounds; but also verdant hills covered with graceful buildings which descended even to the waves, hot springs which promised health, and a warm atmosphere which allured to pleasure. So that matrons there forgot their virtue. "The chaste and severe Lævina came thither . . . . she came a Penelope, she left a Helen."[2]

Naples the voluptuous, the idle Parthenope, offered a less luxurious refuge to retired rhetoricians who came to seek there the ever-living memorials of Greece, gymnasia, phratriæ with their mirthful festivals, musical competitions, and all the games of the stadium. Not far off, Pæstum[3] suffered itself to be invaded by the malaria arising from the marshy waters which its inhabitants could not confine. Yet Cicero spoke of it as of a place where one landed on returning from Africa,[4] but Strabo found it unhealthy, and its temples were soon to stand in the midst of a desert.[5] Brundisium, whence they embarked for Greece, was increasing

[1] Strabo, v. 4, 5. The mountain had taken the name of the villa which is in Greek literally the *Sans-Souci* of Frederic II. Baiæ was a dependency of Cumæ. See Orelli, No. 2263, and the curious inscription (*id.*, No. 132) in which a loquacious Greek celebrates in Latin distichs, sometimes at the expense of grammar, the charms of Baiæ and the delights of the sea. The grotto of Pausilipo, 2,394 feet long, formed a communication between Naples and Pozzuoli.

[2] . . . . *Juvenemque secuta relicto*
Conjuge ; Penelope venit, abit Helene. (Martial, i. 62.)

[3] See (vol. i. p. 662) the general view of the ruins of Pæstum and (p. 663) the Basilica. On p. 661 of this volume we give a view of one of the two other temples.

[4] *Ad Att.*, xi. 17.

[5] Strabo, v. 4, 13.

every day; Rhegium, colonized by Octavius after the defeat of Sextus Pompey, retrieved its fortune more slowly; but Tarentum, situated on fertile soil, at the best harbour south of Italy, recovered a part of its former wealth, if it did not regain its power; nevertheless it occupied but the half of its former circuit.

Thus, save Campania and one or two points of Magna Grecia, Italy was depopulated to the profit of Rome, where there strutted a royalty in rags, mendicant and proud, which desired to sit down daily at the banquet of the Empire, provided by the master it had selected.

II.—The Roman People and the Causes of the Imperial Revolution.

At last we have reached Rome. We know the kind of men to be found and the ideas which prevail there, for the second and third volume of this history have served to show the slow decomposition of Roman society, of its morals, its institutions, and the attempts made, in a contrary direction, during one century, to save the Republic or hasten its fall. Nothing in this picture must be forgotten, if we wish to render a just report of one of the greatest events of history, the foundation of the Empire.

Writers, like nations, are naturally inclined to give too large a share to historical personages. A scholar can change the face of a science; a general that of war; a statesman will never change the face of a society, because politics are a resultant, and because constitutional law, being the expression of a harmony between ideas, manners, and institutions, has only a relative value, unlike moral law, which has an absolute value. In politics, the greatest are those who respond best to the idea, unconscious or premeditated, of their fellow citizens. They receive more than they give, and their strength lies less in the genius they possess than in the logical sequence of ideas and facts which they know how to obey; whence it follows that usurpation or safety, honour or disgrace, come to them as much from the crowd which upholds as from the ambition which impels them.

Some one has uttered a hard saying, but a just one: nations

The Great Temple at Pæstum.

have the governments they deserve, as man has the condition he makes for himself.

This doctrine destroys no one's responsibility, but it extends it to those who find it convenient to rid themselves of it, and if it has harsh words for the usurper who encroaches on ancient laws, it has the same for the multitude who approve of the usurpation. Only, in judging both, it keeps account of the events which have rendered the transformations necessary or useless, durable or transitory. It absolves those who have travelled in the direction of the great current of national life, and condemns the workers of revolution who have desired to ascend the current or violently alter its course.

Let us apply these principles to the Romans. They had subdued everything, from the Euphrates to the Channel, and from the Alps to Atlas, but those who governed all were themselves in subjection, at first to the senate, afterwards to a party, still later to a man.

Can we, after Actium, speak of a triumphant democracy? Antony and Octavius were not party chiefs. They had fought, pillaged, and slain, not for the nobles or the people, but for themselves. The tyrannicides having been conquered, the former turned his power into revelry, while the latter merged his satisfied ambition in the public interest. We can see the dying oligarchy, but not the coming democracy. Augustus spent his reign in establishing distinctions in Roman society, placing everyone into a class, and imposing on each class a costume. The Roman law, under the Empire, was to draw daily nearer to natural law; but it kept different penalties for the rich and for the poor. The emperors called themselves the tribunes of the people, and they urged an aristocratic organization on the municipalities; so that this Empire, which seemed to have a mission to establish equality, prepared the immense social inequality of the Middle Ages.

It was, however, still a question of comitia. The people appeared to give legality to the will of those in power, as certain machines give the stamp to coins, without making the metal of which the latter are formed.

We know what the old Republican legions had become. The soldiers, recruited at hazard, belonged to those who paid them

best. Sylla, who had given up Asia to them, Cæsar, who had gained with them so many lucrative victories, had been able to count on their devotion. Lucullus maintained severe discipline, they abandoned him; Antony refused them Cæsar's legacy, they left him; Octavius placed his goods on sale; they went to him to fulfil the promises of his father. "They fought," says Montesquieu, "not for a certain thing, but for a certain person." Posterity, which is seldom deceived, has left this revolution its true character, giving to the Cæsars only their military title, *imperator*.

As for the provincials, they followed the course of events without attempting to change them. Like the soldiers, they decided, not for a cause, but for a man, for him who was present with great forces, or whose profitable patronage had bound the interests of the province to those of his house.

In the time of Tacitus, the revolution which changed the Republic to the Empire seemed very simple. "The passion for power," he says, "increased with our Empire, and, like our arms, overthrew everything. As long as the State was small, equality was maintained. When we had conquered the world, everyone contended for the power and riches it gave."

Do these words of Tacitus fully explain the whole revolution? The great historian, or rather the great artist whose tragic soul is at home amidst the gloomiest scenes, loved, like the crowd, to lay the blame upon men rather than things, because the latter need to be analysed coldly, whilst the former, making up the living and passionate part of the drama of history, strike the eyes of the poet and the crowd. Yet what are all the ambitious men who succeeded each other at Rome, in comparison with Rome herself, incessantly transformed by her vices and by her victories?

In becoming a world, instead of a town, Rome could not preserve institutions established for a single city and for a small territory. How could 60,000,000 provincials be brought into the narrow and rigid circle of these municipal institutions? Even in Italy, could the citizens of the colonies and the municipia desire to be present at these comitia, which were interesting only to the inhabitants of Rome? A revolution, therefore, was inevitable, but the Romans, not having changed their civil constitution

for an imperial one, lost the former before obtaining the latter, and without laws, without customs, they found themselves exposed to every hazard, like a vessel which has lost both anchor and compass.

Suppress Sylla and Pompey, even Cæsar and Augustus, and the end of the Republic would not thereby be delayed; Cæsarism was born because liberty could no longer live; and liberty was dying because the world then needed something else.

Nations never strongly desire two things at once. At that moment, if we except a few men greater in heart than in intellect, the world did not ask for liberty; it aspired to peace, to order, to security, as, three centuries later, it hastened, even through

Fragments of an Augural Monument.[1]

tortures, towards that unknown future which Virgil's great soul had foreseen when he announced the regeneration of the world.

III.—Octavius.

Augustus[2] was about to stop these disorders; to fulfil these wishes of the provinces; to give to all this desired peace; and he has only remained great in the memory of men, because in spite of his mediocre genius he answered to the universal expectation. A prudent and timid pilot, he feared the great sea and the unknown shores: *fortiter occupa portum!* He stopped in the harbour where

[1] Front and side of an altar, found in the Loire in 1818.

[2] [As regards Octavius's changes of name, he was named C. Jul. Cæsar Octavianus by curiate law in 43 B.C., when legally adopted by the Julian gens; he was granted the title of Augustus in 27 B.C., as will be mentioned in its place.—*Ed.*]

the waves gently rocked and lulled the crew to slumber with the melodious songs of its poets. He himself kept watch, however, and the repose which the world owed to him, he never knew for himself. Spain, Gaul, Asia, all the provinces saw him in turn mark out new divisions, open up roads, establish towns, organize the army, the finances, the government, finally attack and fight, but only in self-defence, being more willing to negotiate, lest men's spirit should awake at the sound of arms.

La Licenza (the *Digentia* of Horace).

So much prudence, however, was not necessary, for, in this ruin of the Republican government, nothing great enough or strong enough of the old edifice was left standing to prove a serious hindrance on the new path. Those who were called Republicans had fallen on the battle fields of Pharsalia, of Thapsus, of Munda, and of Philippi, or had perished with Sextus. The few who survived had in despair rallied round Antony, and those, too, had shared his fate, or, renouncing hopes which had been

destroyed four times in twenty years, had humbled their pride before the clemency of the conqueror.

But revolutions nearly always call forth conspiracies. The broken sword easily becomes a dagger, and some of those whom victory has thrown at the feet of the master remain there only to mark the better the place where they must strike. The Egyptian expedition was not yet finished, when Marcus Lepidus, son of the triumvir and nephew of Brutus by Junia, his mother, conspired to assassinate Octavius on his return, and re-establish the the Republic. Mæcenas, who commanded the town guards, easily unravelled the ill-contrived schemes of the imprudent youth; he dogged his steps with consummate dissimulation; he entangled him with unseen bonds, then, all at once, without noise or tumult, he seized him and strangled this germ of fresh troubles.[1] The culprit's wife, Servilia, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. His mother, accused of encouraging his designs, was dragged to the tribunal of the consul, and old Lepidus, to save his wife, was seen to throw himself at the feet of the judge. This judge was

The Young Octavius.[2]

[1] The young Lepidus having been sent into Asia to Octavius was there put to death. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxiii.)

[2] A statue found at Rome, and now in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, hall of the Sarcophagi, No. 559.)

a senator whom the brother of Junia had formerly proscribed; he could remember it; he had a heart noble enough to be touched by such great vicissitudes. Now, indeed, men did grant pardon.

This attempt was, under Augustus, the only and really the last protest against the Empire. There were, indeed, many other plots; Cæpio and Murena[1] in the year 22 B.C.; Egnatius Rufus, Plautius Rufus, and L. Paulus, a little later; lastly, in the year 4 of our era, the notorious Cinna, and at different periods obscure attempts at assassination, but it is difficult to say what was the motive of these men, mistaken ambition or noble and fierce inspiration. Judging by ancient reports, the part due to generous instincts was not the strongest.

Decimated by twenty years of wars and deceptions, the Republican party, for the moment, no longer existed, and of the Roman patriciate there remained but a few men, who all thought as Asinius Pollio said to Octavius before Actium: "I shall be the booty of the conqueror." "The Republic," exclaims Tacitus, "who, then, has seen it?" To find a feeble image of it we must go back through two triumvirates and the fury of Clodius to the first fair days of Cicero, that is to say, more than one man's life. This generation, born in civil war and troubles, preferred a calm present to that past of which they knew only the griefs.[2]

When society undergoes a transformation, it is the extreme and violent parties which occupy the scene; the moderate keep out of the way and remain silent. But when the work of violence is completed, they again get the influence into their hands. These moderate men now filled the senate and the public offices. They had fortune, and did not seek for power, glad that another should bear its toil and danger. These *novi homines*, thrust into the senate by all the ambitious men who had held authority, had no power with the people, who did not know them. They certainly wore the dress of the old Conscript Fathers, but they did not

[1] It was this Murena, a brother-in-law of Mæcenas, whom Horace endeavoured to reclaim by his fine ode (II. x.), in which he extols the happiness of undistinguished life, the *aurea mediocritas*. Murena and his accomplices, "condemned by default to exile, were murdered a short time afterwards." (Dion, liv. 3.) The same author, speaking of the year 4 A.D., mentions a plot formed by a grandson of Pompey, Cornelius Cinna, whom Corneille has made famous. (*Id.*, lv. 22.)

[2] Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 2): *Tuta et præsentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent.*

possess either their splendid life or their wide influence.[1] With many of them the laticlave scarcely concealed the Gallic *braccæ* or the Iberian *sagum*. It would have been something, at least, if they had been drawn from among brave soldiers; but all kinds of men were to be found on the seats where Cineas had seen kings sitting. It had become necessary, in order to save the dignity of the body, to forbid any one to summon senators before the courts for theft or robbery, and the proscriptions of those already accused were stopped.[2] As for seeing them compete with gladiators, that was no longer a novelty; one of them was shortly to fight in the arena at the dedication of the Julian Curia.[3]

The knights, who were engaged in banking, commerce, and tax-farming, who had been ruined by the war, and enriched by the peace, and who were old allies of Cæsar, were the natural upholders of the new order. Below these there were three Roman peoples; the first sought their fortune on the seas and in far off regions; the second begged at Rome; the third was slowly arising in the provinces, but did not yet count for anything. The first of these asked only for peace and security, the second for games and doles. The former, who had grown old in counting-houses and on ships, lived far from Rome and accommodated themselves to everything which left them their barter and their gains. The others formed a numerous body, who would have been formidable had it not been quite clear that their political feelings were limited to being amused and fed. During the Civil wars they had been overlooked in favour of the soldiers to whom they bore no love. Accordingly, they blessed the return of peace which, by rendering the legions useless, rid them of rivals as skilful as themselves in profiting by the prince's favour.

Even at Rome robberies and murder were committed in broad daylight,[4] and all the roads were, as in the saddest times of the

[1] Suetonius calls them: *deformis et incondita turba.* (*Octav.*, 35.)

[2] Ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ (Dion, xlix. 43), in the year of Rome, 721, during the ædileship of Agrippa.

[3] Dion, li. 22.

[4] See Varro's dialogue, *de Re rust.*, i. 69. In order to close the conversation the author supposes the assassination, in full daylight, and in the open street, of the keeper of the temple of Tellus, where the friends had assembled. The calmness with which Varro relates this murder proves that it was one of the commonest incidents at Rome. "We went away," says he, "more moved at the man's misfortune than astonished at the deed, *quam admirantes id Romæ factum.*"

Italian banditti, infested by brigands. The modern *bravi* only take the traveller's purse, when he yields it with a good grace; their predecessors took the traveller himself when he was young enough to make a good slave. One of the first cares of Octavius was to wage a regular war against these banditti and make careful visits to the slave factories in order to deliver free men who were detained in them.[1]

In the last fifty years property in Italy had so often changed hands that amid these repeated perturbations it had almost disappeared. For civil war ruins a country in two ways, by consuming the wealth already produced, and by hindering the production which would have renewed it. Save a few men like Balbus of Gades, who was rich enough to bequeath the Roman people twenty-five denarii per man, or the prudent Atticus, who had invested in property in Epirus the greater part of his 10,000,000 sesterces, with a few other men who had inherited old aristocratic fortunes, and had been overlooked in the proscriptions, or a few upstarts of the Civil wars, all these people were poverty-stricken, ruined, and beggars. Augustus was obliged to lend or give them all something. He purposely lost at play, in order to bestow a needful gratuity on those who had not yet learned to beg. At one stroke he made up to full value the senatorial census of eighty senators who did not possess the 800,000 sesterces required by law. Now an ædile resigned office because he was too poor;[2] the next day some knights whom the emperor saw concealing themselves among the crowd, did not dare to take the places reserved for them at the public games for fear impatient creditors should seize them. It is a strange sight, this of a man paying for the acceptance of the honours he bestows, paying for having a senate, an equestrian order, and magistrates. Distress was universal, he alone was rich.[3]

[1] Suet., *Tiber.*, 8. Octavius boasts of having restored to their masters for execution 30,000 fugitive slaves. (*Monum. d'Ancyre*, No. 25.)

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 41; Dion, lv. 13; Dion, xlviii. 53; li. 2; liv. 10; ὑπὸ πενίας. Men are no longer willing to be senators, says he. (liv. 26.)

[3] Suet., *Octav.*, 40. See in Seneca (*de Benef.*, iii. 27) an anecdote about the senator Rufus, who was so cowardly and avaricious. Seeing what misery a political crisis causes in our modern state of society, we can understand what twenty years of civil wars must have produced in ancient societies, which possessed so little capital, and where that small capital was so quickly consumed or destroyed. In olden days men had not yet appropriated to themselves

Men refused honours because the magistracies remained onerous, as they had been under the Republic, and no longer offered as a compensation the profits which Verres had found in them. They refused them again, because the master himself set the example

Vicovaro (the *Varia* of Horace).[1]

of moderation and disinterestedness. Like him, they affected a desire to withdraw from the burden of public affairs. "No one," writes Dion Cassius, "will enter the senate;"[2] and as the sons

any natural agent but the soil. In rural economy they had made great progress in the domestication of animals and the acclimatization of plants, but they had scarcely any implements but their hands, and very few machines, so that the labour was immense and the produce little; this it was which excused slavery in the eyes of the more thoughtful men. So long as peace lasted, or so long at least as it was not necessary to supply the necessities of external warfare, ordinary labour, though it required an enormous supply of men, was sufficient. But when war broke out on all sides, it began by disorganizing the slave system; the slaves deserted in crowds, work came to a standstill, production was suspended, and as this society lived from hand to mouth, with no accumulated capital, the distress soon became frightful.

[1] Vicovaro is the ancient *Varia*, on the territory of which stood the farm given by Mæcenas to Horace, and the river Licenza is the *Digentia* sung by the poet.

[2] Οὐκέτ οὐδεὶς ἐθελοντὶ βουλεύσων ηὑρίσκετο . . . μηδεὶς ἔτι ῥᾳδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἴητει (liv. 26).

of senators refused the places of vigintivirs which were reserved for them, it became necessary to throw that dignity open to members of the equestrian order. Mæcenas, L. Proculeius, his brother-in-law, V. Sallust, another friend of Augustus and great nephew of the historian, remained simple knights.[1] Horace, who was a legionary tribune at twenty, never rose higher than a clerk of the treasury, and wrote his last epistle to boast of having no ambition.

Repose and pleasure, that luxurious and elegant life, pleasantly

Ruins of Horace's House at Tivoli (Tibur) (Bibl. nat.).

filled up with trifles, which the poet of Tibur has sung so well; no more tribunes, no more violent struggles, no more looks and words like daggers; peace, instead, and silence; let one man watch and act for all, with a single condition—that the provinces,

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 30. In the year 24 B.C. no quæstors could be found for the senatorial provinces, and the same was the case with the tribuneship a few years later. In the year 13, Augustus was obliged to retain or forcibly recall into the senate members who no longer desired to hold a useless title.

formerly the property of a few families, should through him again become the true patrimony of the Roman people; such was now the general desire. For some years past Octavius had perceived this, and by the signs of universal lassitude he saw that violence had had its day, that the time for moderation was come. This perception was the secret of his strength. After being the leader of the most violent party, Octavius had by degrees made himself that of the moderate section. Some see in the triumvir and the emperor two different men; but it is not so. Octavius was not cruel by nature, but by position. Plunged into difficult affairs before he was twenty, and finding that none would treat him with serious consideration, he assumed severity on his youthful brow, and his hand, scarcely matured for a sword, firmly signed the list of proscriptions. Then, indeed, it became necessary to believe in his energy and power, and to cease to treat him as a child; once in the path of bloodshed, men seldom halt; he, however, stopped, so that he had the rare good fortune to fit two different epochs of a revolution. The fact was, he had ever before his eyes the picture of Cæsar stretched bleeding at the foot of Pompey's statue, through having too loudly proclaimed his contempt for men and refused to

Octavius.[1]

[1] Octavius crowned with oak. (Bust in the Louvre Museum, No. 278 of the Clarac Catalogue.)

make allowance for their weaknesses. This memory had taught the son of the great victim that one might with impunity steal the public liberty; but that it is prudent to respect that which each individual holds dear—vanity and that secret pride which makes the man survive the citizen.

Cæsar had obtained his power by violence. Octavius, whom heroic proceedings did not suit, laid it down after he had won it, in order to receive it modestly from the feeble hands to which he had feigned to restore it. To the last he played this part of disinterestedness, veiling his position and power behind ancient titles and old institutions from which all force had passed away, but whose form was still left, making as few innovations as possible, guaranteeing the present, but preparing nothing for the future; so that the Empire, like its founder, lived from day to day, with no thought for the morrow, amid perpetual convulsions, which did not necessarily disturb the provinces, but turned the palace into a bloodstained arena.

Mæcenas.[1]

Octavius had made use of, and was still to make use of, two men whose names, with unusual justice, have remained connected with his—Mæcenas and Agrippa. It was during his stay at Apollonia that he had entered into relations with them, and notwithstanding all that has been said of his suspicious and cruel character, through all his varying fortunes he still retained the two friends of his youth. The former of these, Mæcenas, who was a few years his senior, came of an illustrious family of Etruria.[2] But as minister of a government which intended to pay

[1] Visconti, *Iconogr. rom.*, i. p. 178, from a cornelian in the Farnese collection. A valuable amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, signed by Dioscorides, represents the same person, who was at first thought to be the legislator of Attica, on account of the name COΛΩNOC cut on the stone, but this is only the name of the engraver, Solon. Visconti has attributed the two stones to Mæcenas, of whom Dioscorides was a contemporary, an opinion which is based upon conjectures, and not upon any monuments.

[2] The Cilnii. (Horace, *Carm.*, i. 2; *Sat.*, i. 6.) As regards the foibles of Mæcenas, with

Ruins of the House of Mæcenas at Tivoli (*Bibliothèque nationale*).

no heed to birth, he laughed at his own nobility, even while he allowed Horace to sing of his royal origin. His fortune placed him in the equestrian order, and he would never leave it. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, on the contrary, was born of an obscure

M. Vipsanius Agrippa.[1]

house, in the same year as Octavius, 63, at the time when Cicero was ruling Rome by his speeches. He was with the youthful Cæsar when the news reached Epirus of the ides of March, and he

which I am not here concerned, see Seneca, *de Prov.*, 3; *de Benef.*, iv. 36, and *Epist.*, 19, 92, 106, 114.

[1] Bust in the Uffizi gallery at Florence.

was one of those who persuaded him to claim his dangerous heritage. It seemed as though the gods, in order to end the slow death-pangs of the Republic, had united all the good qualities of the old Latin race in this founder of the Monarchy; he was of a clear but not brilliant mind, an indefatigable worker, rough in his manners,[1] speaking little, doing much, fitted alike for war or civil matters, and successful in all his undertakings. If the devotion of such men is honourable to him who succeeded in inspiring it, never was friendship more useful. In conducting a difficult negotiation, in sowing discord among his adversaries or winning over malcontents, in lulling hatred or confirming wavering friendships, in short, in knowledge of men and of the means of leading them, none equalled Mæcenas; for commanding and fighting none came up to Agrippa. The treaties of Brundisium and Tarentum, the politic marriages of Octavius with Scribonia, and of Antony with Octavia, and the baffling of the plot of Lepidus, such were the claims of Mæcenas to consideration; the submission of the Gauls, the defeat of Sextus and the victory of Actium, were those of Agrippa. These two men had won half Augustus's fortune for him.

Thereafter their services were still to be great, but of a different nature. Mæcenas who by his dexterity had done so much to aid his master in steering clear of reefs during the tempest, sat down to rest when they came in port. He retired into obscurity and avoided honours; he left Agrippa to share with Augustus the consulship and censorship, to carry on the administration, build temples and aqueducts, found cities and military roads, pass ceaselessly to and fro through the Empire, and bear everywhere and into everything his activity and clear-sighted intellect. For himself, he remained at Rome; made verses, listened to Horace and Varius, and gave well-appointed suppers at which perfumes flowed freely; and Augustus, who was fond of joking, called him the man of fashion with his dripping hair. He still played a serious part, however; at his table conversions took place, fierce courage was toned down, severe virtues melted beneath the soft breath of pleasure; there men

[1] *Vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 9.)

learned all the joys of peace, indolence and dalliance; there above all they forgot, and called those who did not, senseless. Mæcenas kept open house for wit and effeminacy, and at his board it was that as the outcome of a gay feast, amid the Epicurean odes of Horace and the elegies of Propertius, liberty abdicated her throne, consoling herself with some epigram of Domitius Marsus, which the host himself applauded.

After the two great ministers, we see round Octavius the cold and severe face of Antistius Labeo, an unbending Republican, and yet an innovator in the science of law; Ateius Capito, less proud, but like him the leader of a school; Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom Octavius had just taken as a colleague in the consulship; Statilius Taurus, a *novus homo* like Agrippa, but also a man of merit, who gave the city its first stone amphitheatre, as if to show the Romans that their new master did not wish any cessation of their pleasures; Sallust, the adopted son of the historian, and Cocceius, Dellius, and "the other friends of the first entry;"[2] all drawn from the hostile camp and won over by clemency.

Coin of Statilius Taurus.[1]

Messala Corvinus, being proscribed by the triumvirs as an accomplice in the murder of Cæsar, had on the day of the first battle of Philippi taken the camp of Octavius, and inflicted on the young triumvir that defeat which brought so many sarcasms upon him. Octavius never forgot the man who had so thoroughly beaten him. When Messala, who had been saved after Philippi by Antony, left that senseless chief, Octavius heaped honours upon him, entrusted him with the most important affairs, and allowed him freely to extol, even in his own presence, the virtues of "his beloved Brutus." He was one of those many-sided men produced by disturbed epochs; a great orator in Quintilian's judgment, extolled by Seneca as one of the purest of writers; an excellent general, good administrator and better citizen, for he defended the Republic without violence, and monarchy without servility. Another senator, L. Sestius, piously preserved the image

[1] TAVRVS REGVLVS PVLCHER. *Simpulum* and *lituus*. Reverse of a bronze coin of the family Statilia.

[2] *Cohortem primæ admissionis.* (Seneca, *de Clementia*, i. 10.)

and memory of the tyrannicide, but this did not prevent his attaining the consulate. Octavius who was anxious to appear to continue the Republic and honour all its glories, was very careful not to forbid this inoffensive respect for the last republican. Even the son of a freedman could with impunity remind the ex-triumvir that he had fought against him; the poet hastened, it is true, to add that he had been one of the first to run away:

. . . . *Relicta non bene parmula.*

But Octavius had not imposed this dishonouring confession upon Horace. At Milan he respected a statue of Brutus; he spoke of Cicero, whom he had slain, as a good citizen, and tried to wipe out his remorse by appointing the victim's son consul and augur, though his chief merit was that he contested with Torquatus *Tricongius* the reputation of being the hardest drinker in Rome.

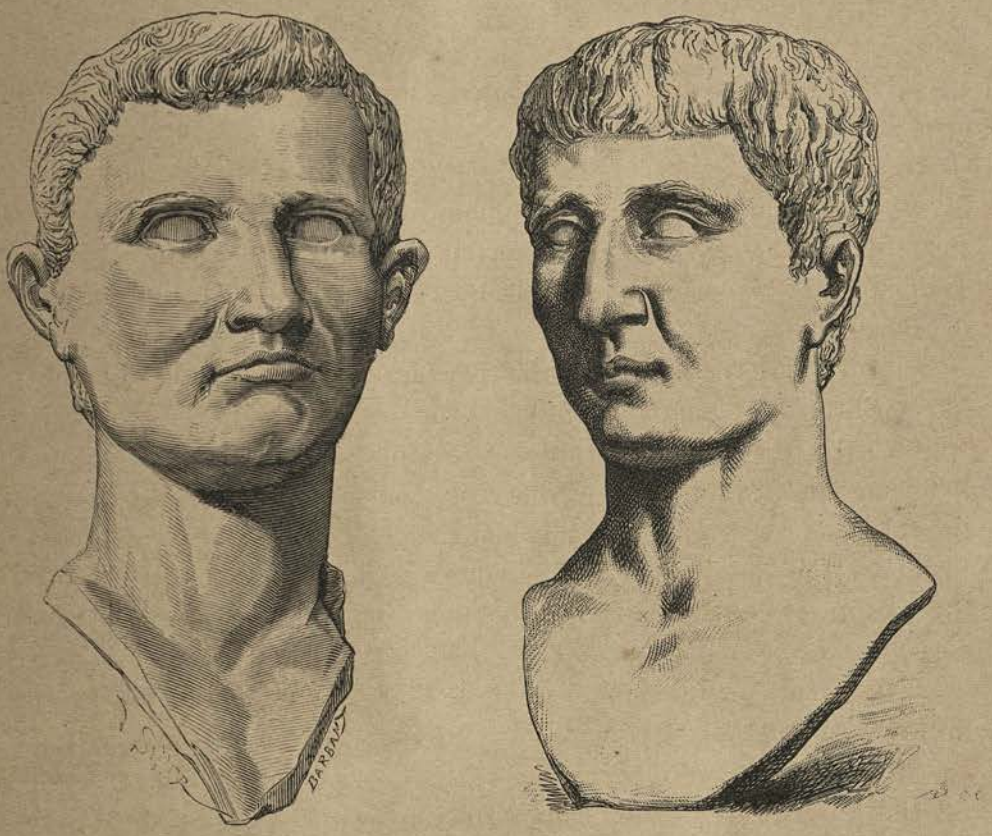
Poetry, lately hostile in the person of Catullus, was disarmed like politics. Though Tibullus, whom the war had quickly frightened, still sulked against Octavius, he only sang of love, following the example of Propertius; and Livy, Virgil, Horace, the glorious representatives of history, and epic and lyric poetry, furthered the designs of the founder of the Empire by celebrating the greatness of Rome or the destiny promised to the descendants of Iulus.

Near the victor of Actium I find another old friend and faithful servant of Cæsar, Asinius Pollio, the protector of Virgil, and, notwithstanding the eloquent counsels of Horace, the historian of the Civil wars. He had formerly sworn an oath to Cicero to fight to the death for liberty.[1] Convinced that liberty was no longer possible, he had accepted a master, but neither eagerly nor with baseness, and had taken refuge against despotism in devotion to literature and in independence of spirit. Octavius rather esteemed than loved this serious man.

Munatius Plancus had come through those difficult times with less honour. First a lieutenant of Cæsar, then the friend of his assassins, he had gone over to the triumvirs, to whom he had

[1] Cicero, *ad Fam.*, x. 31.

abandoned his brothers. At Alexandria he was the buffoon of Antony, whom at Lyons he had called an infamous robber, and he came and denounced him at Rome. In him all kinds of treachery were united; but a man so conscientiously devoted to the strongest side, and who openly taught adulation,[1] was too useful not to be employed. Octavius, who neglected Pollio, loaded Plancus with honours in order that all men might see what was now the road



Young Tiberius and his brother Drusus, the two sons of Livia.[2]

to fortune. The singer of Tibur calls him a sage, but this wisdom of Horace is the same which quailed at the mere name of the indomitable Cato, *atrocem animum Catonis*.

I call special attention to these two men because they are the representatives of the two divisions of the senate and nobility:

[1] See in Seneca, *Quæst. nat.*, lib. iv. in *præfat.*, his theory of flattery; he analyses and gives the rules of it. This was the programme of the new public manners.

[2] Busts in bronze; that of Tiberius, found at Mahon in 1759, had eyes of silver. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3121.) The bust of Drusus is in the Louvre Museum.

the first resigned yet proud and few in numbers; the second, which daily grew larger, going over to Octavius in order to attain through him the dignities, wealth and honours promised to servility.[1]

Beside these men we must make room for a woman, the first in

Livia.[2]

the Roman world who made her influence felt in political matters; I mean Livia. The sway she had gained over her husband was a discreet and lawful one. More than once Augustus was to have proof of the correctness of her judgment and the excellence of her advice. Imperious with her sons and her daughters-in-law,

[1] *Quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 2.)

[2] Statue in the Vatican, *Pio-Clementino Museum*, ii. 4.

she was gentle and complaisant with her husband, and the emperor could point out as an example to the matrons the ever dignified bearing and severe chastity of her who in her palace kept up the tradition of Tanaquil the spinster.[1] She was very beautiful: "In features she is Venus, in manners Juno," says Ovid; her busts do not contradict the poet's eulogies, which Tacitus repeats. By Claudius Nero, her first husband, she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, but she bore none to the emperor. If Julia, the daughter of Augustus and Scribonia, was to scandalize Rome and the court by her licentiousness, the charming Antonia, the loving wife of Drusus, her mother Octavia, whose chaste reputation was never sullied by the slightest suspicion, and the grand-daughter of Augustus, that noble Agrippina whom the whole Empire honoured for her virtues, were to restore in the imperial house the old Sabine manners.

Julia, daughter of Augustus.[2]

Let us sum up this long review in a few general propositions,

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 71, 84; Dion., lviii. 2; Seneca, *de Clem.*, i. 9. Caligula called Livia a female Ulysses, *Ulyssem stolatum* (Suet., *Caius*, 23); but in Seneca's opinion (*Consol. ad Marc.* 4) she was *feminam opinionis suæ custodem diligentissimam.* Macrobius speaks of her (*Saturn.*, 2 v.) as always surrounded by grave persons, and Tacitus says (*Ann.* v. 1): *Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis.* Augustus wore no garments but those woven by his wife and daughter. (Suet., *Octav.*, 74.) Ovid says:

Quæ Veneris formam, mores Junonis habendo.....

We might doubt the sincerity of the poet, but Octavius took her away from Nero, says Tacitus, *cupidine formæ* (*Ann.*, v. 1).

[2] Statue from the Villa Panfili. (Clarac, *Musée. de sculpt.*, pl. 978c., No. 2343.) The Louvre also possesses a statue of Julia, but the head is modern.

which we will put into the form of so many questions to which the Empire must reply, so many problems for it to solve.

From the Euphrates to the Channel and from the Alps to

Antonia, wife of Drusus.[1]

Agrippina the Elder.[2]

the Atlas we have found a supreme authority, that of the Roman people, and beneath this external unity an infinite variety of local laws, manners, religions and conditions of freedom. The Roman Empire was established; but there was as yet no Roman nation. Would the emperors succeed in making one?

In all these countries the Republic had, save at a few points,

[1] Statue in the Vatican, found at Tusculum. The wavy style in which the hair is done is considered as a proof that the statue is *iconic*, that is, the portrait of the person represented. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 928, No. 2359.)

[2] Statue from the Egremont collection, representing Agrippina the Elder wearing the Latin diadem, in the posture and with the attributes of Ceres. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 330, No. 2366.)

overthrown the native governments. The Empire would therefore be obliged to undertake the administration in their stead. Would it keep order, and would "the Roman Peace," which the peoples so eagerly longed for, be guaranteed by provident institutions?

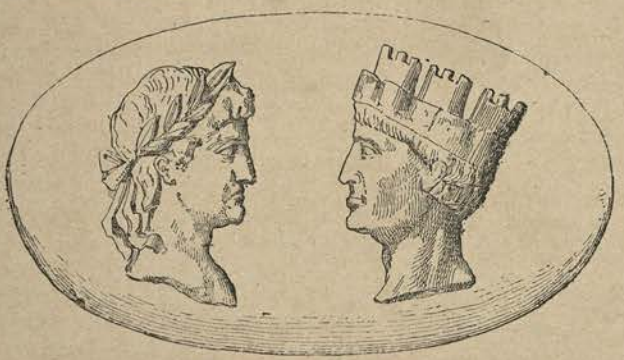
Around this immense dominion we have seen barbarous peoples, some brave and turbulent, but divided, others corrupt and feeble; there was consequently no indication at this time of any serious danger. Yet, since the Romans had destroyed the military force of their subjects, they were bound to defend those whom they had disarmed and who paid them; for this needful protection they were obliged to have recourse to a formidable novelty, the establishment of a standing army. Would this army be imbued with the spirit of discipline and sacrifice, with love of country and respect for the civil laws?

The right of commanding involves still other duties.

Rome occupied all the civilized portion of the ancient world and had at her disposition the forces furnished by intellect, social organization, and wealth. Would the new Rome employ these forces to increase the activity of the fire whereat was kindled the torch which illumined the world—to make the heat more diffused, the light more brilliant, in one word, to preserve, increase and purify the ancient civilization whose store-house was now committed into her hands?

Finally, the history of the last century of the Republic has proved the necessity of the Empire, that is the excuse of Octavius. Would he be capable of organizing it? Here we await Augustus, to see whether he has deserved his fortune.

[1] Busts, facing each other, of Augustus with the laurel, and Agrippa wearing the mural crown. From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of three layers, 1·18 inch by 0·732 inch), No. 198 in the catalogue.



Augustus and Agrippa.[1]

EIGHTH PERIOD.

AUGUSTUS, OR THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT (30—13 B.C.) [1]

I.—Decrees of the Senate after the Death of Antony (30—28).

ANTONY being dead, and Egypt reduced to a province, Octavius returned to Syria, where he received from the king of the Parthians a first embassy, in no way haughty in tone, for

[1] *Chronology of the Reign of Augustus after Actium.*—B.C. 30, death of Antony; Egypt reduced to a province; Octavius passed the winter at Samos. 29, Return of Octavius to Rome; he closed the temple of Janus. 28, Census taken by the consuls; 4,164,000 citizens. 27, Octavius received the title of Augustus, divided the provinces with the senate, and remained three years (27-25) in Gaul and Spain. 24, He returned to Rome. 23, He was invested with the tribunitian power for life, and received an embassy of Parthians. 22, Conspiracy of Murena; Candace invaded Egypt; revolt of the Cantabri. 21, Augustus repaired to the East; passed the winter at Samos, and married his daughter Julia to Agrippa. 20, The Parthians restored the standards taken from Crassus; Augustus at Samos. 19, Return to Rome [his *potestas consularis*]; death of Virgil. 18, *Lex de maritandis ordinibus*. 17, The secular games; Agrippa sent to Asia. 16, Defeat of Lollius; Augustus repaired to Gaul, where he again remained three years (16-14). 15, Tiberius and Drusus subjugated the Reti and Vindelici. 13, Augustus returned to Rome. 12, Death of Agrippa and Lepidus; Drusus in Gaul; the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lyons. 11, War of Drusus against the Germans, of Tiberius against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; Tiberius marries Julia. 10, Augustus in Gaul. 9, Death of Drusus. 8, Augustus in Gaul for the fourth time; Tiberius in Germany; death of Mæcenas and Horace. 7, Tiberius in Germany. 6, Tiberius received the tribunitian power for five years, and retired to Rhodes, where he remained seven years. 2 B.C., Banishment of Julia. 2 of our era, Return of Tiberius to Rome. 4, Tiberius adopted by Augustus, repaired to Germany, where he remained three years (4-6). 6, Revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. 7, Germanicus in Germany; three campaigns of Tiberius in Illyricum (7-9). 9, Defeat of Varus; exile of Ovid. 10 and 11, Tiberius in Germany. 11, Tiberius returned to Rome and triumphed. 14, Closing of the census; 4,197,000 citizens; Augustus died on the 19th of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his tribunitian power.

Phraates, in order to prevent the Roman *imperator* giving his support to a candidate for the throne who had taken refuge in the territories of the Empire, sent him his own son as a hostage. Augustus employed the winter and the spring of the year 29 in regulating the affairs of the Asiatic peninsula. Ephesus and Nicæa, the two capitals of Asia and Bithynia, were authorized to build each a temple to the two new deities, Rome and the hero Julius; Pergamum and Nicomedia, to establish "consecrated enclosures in honour of Octavius and Rome." This was the second year which he passed away from Italy. But he was in no hurry to return thither. He wished to strengthen his power by exercising it at a distance, and allow the Romans time to accustom themselves to the idea of a master. Indeed he was over-cautious; the secret wrath of the aristocracy did not require such prolonged circumspection.

Octavius.

Moreover Mæcenas and Agrippa kept guard for him at Rome; the letters of Octavius to the senate and consuls passed through their hands; he had even left them a seal like his own that they might modify according to circumstances the contents of his dispatches.[1] They gave the watchword for devotion, they prompted enthusiasm, they directed deliberations and voting. Thanks to the universal desire for peace, this was an easy task.

Since the blundering attempt of Lepidus, that salutary warning which Augustus had so well understood, the calm had not been disturbed, and the only clamour which agitated the city was that of the adulatory decrees of the senate. After Actium they had voted a triumph, after the subjection of Egypt they decreed another and commenced in his name the building of the great temple of Fortune at Præneste. Then the priests were ordered

Coin of Augustus.[2]

[1] This seal bore the image of the sphinx, the emblem of his conduct; later on he made use of a ring on which was engraved the head of Alexander, and a signet bearing a good likeness of himself. (Suet., *Octav.*, 50; Dion., li. 3; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4.) For correspondence with his counsellors he had a cipher, which consisted of putting instead of the required letter the one immediately following it in the alphabet. (Dion, *ibid.*)

[2] Head of Octavius, consul for the sixth time. On the reverse a crocodile, the symbol of Egypt, and the inscription, *Egypt captive*. Denarius.

to offer up prayers for Octavius as they did for the Roman people, and in their petitions to join his name with that of the gods; the citizens were enjoined to pour out libations in his honour at their banquets; the vestals, senators and people were to go forth to meet him on the day when he should re-enter Rome. That day was to become a yearly festival; two triumphal arches, one at Brundisium, the other in the Forum, were to be raised to perpetuate the memory of his victories; on solemn occasions he was to wear the purple mantle; and finally the entrance to his house was to be adorned with branches of laurel and a civic crown. We possess a medal whereon this crown surrounds the inscription which courtiers of fortune are so ready to lavish upon those whom they call saviours of their country, *ob cives servatos.*

To these showy honours it was well understood that power must be added. At the beginning of January in the year 29, while Octavius in Asia was entering upon his fifth consulship, the senators and magistrates at Rome swore to obey his decrees, and the tribunitian power was offered him for life with the right of extending its inviolability to whosoever should implore it. But all this had for the most part been given to others, and they wished to do something fresh. A classical idea cleared away the difficulty. Before the Areopagus, Orestes had been saved by the vote of Athene; it was decided that in criminal causes Octavius might vote in favour of the accused. This was the right of pardon, which has remained one of the attributes of sovereignty.[1]

A deputation from the senate went to bear him these decrees. They found him occupied in making a god of Cæsar and permitting temples to be built to himself in Pergamum and Nicomedia. With the Greeks, who had long since grown accustomed to these sacrilegious flatteries, he readily allowed an apotheosis to be decreed him during his lifetime;[2] with the Romans he did not accept all

[1] Dion, li. 19. In the year 13 it was decreed, on his return from Gaul, that to all those who should go out to meet him ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι (*id.*, liv. 25.) When he re-entered Rome no criminals were executed on that day. Finally, his temples and statues became inviolable asylums, and in the colleges of priests he could increase the number of members as much as he liked. (Senec, *de Clem.*, i. 18; Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 36; Dion, li. 20.)

[2] On this question see, in vol. iv., chapter lxvii., § iii.: *Religious Reform.*

that was offered him; he even refused the most valuable of these prerogatives, the tribunitian power for life, in order to leave some doubt as to his intentions and an illusion to those who still indulged in them.

Meanwhile his lieutenants made his arms triumphant everywhere: Statilius Taurus in Spain; Nonius Gallus and Carinas in Belgica; Messala in Aquitania;[1] Crassus against the Bastarnæ and Daci. He might have ascended to the Capitol escorted

Ruins of Nicomedia.[2]

by triumphant generals, and inaugurated his government by announcing to the Romans the end of all war. It was the propitious moment for returning to Rome; he passed through the gates in the month of *sextilis*, which afterwards took his name (August 29th B.C.), and triumphed thrice, for the Dalmatians, for Actium,[3] and for Egypt, whose great river, according to custom,

[1] Messala had taken with him his *protégé* Tibullus, who was no more of an ardent soldier than Horace. (Cf. Tibullus, *Eleg.*, i. 7.)

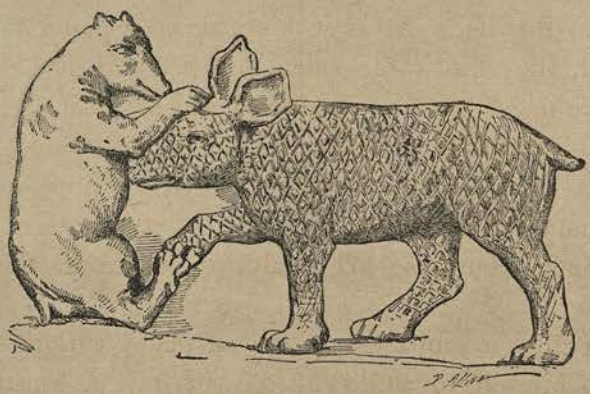
[2] Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, vol. i., pl. 1.

[3] The name of Antony was not even uttered; it was for his victory over the Egyptian fleet at Actium that Octavius triumphed; but decrees of the senate had already overthrown the statues of the triumvir, declared the day of his birth unlucky, and forbidden any member of the *gens Antonia* to bear his surname of Marcus.

figured in the ceremony, and thus gained for us the beautiful statue of the Nile, which is preserved in the Vatican. On descending from the Capitol he vowed a temple to Minerva, the goddess who had given him his precocious wisdom, and in the Julian Basilica, which he dedicated, he placed that statue of victory which after the triumph of Christianity remained to the last pagans at Rome the venerated symbol of the glorious history of their fathers. The recompenses to the soldiers and the gratuities to the citizens were such as the treasures of the Ptolemies permitted: 1,000 sesterces each to the former, and they were 120,000 in number; 400 to the latter; even the children, who usually counted only over eleven, received their share, in honour of the young Marcellus.[1]

So much gold was suddenly brought into circulation that throughout Italy the interest on money fell two-thirds, from twelve to four per cent., and the price of property was doubled.[2]

Notwithstanding this expenditure, Octavius was still rich



Combat between a Rhinoceros and a Bear.[3]

enough to make sumptuous offerings to the temples of Rome, although he had refused the golden crowns offered according to custom by the cities of Italy; he had paid all his debts without

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 41. Octavius had found a great quantity of gold in the palace of Cleopatra, for the queen on her return from Actium had despoiled the temples and the rich citizens of Alexandria, which freed Octavius from the necessity of doing so. He confiscated property, however, of those who could be accused for having sided with Antony, and all the other inhabitants had to yield him the sixth part of their fortune. (Dion, li. 17.)

[2] Dion, li. 21.

[3] Rich, *Dict. des Ant. rom. et grecq.*, under the head *Venatio*.

demanding anything from his numerous debtors, and had burnt the acknowledgments of State debts.[1] These royal manners and the splendid fêtes which followed: Trojan games, at which Marcellus and Tiberius appeared, combats between Servian and Dacian prisoners, hunts in the circus, in which were seen for the first time a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus; so many largesses and pleasures sowed oblivion and hope. In order to announce solemnly the commencement of the new era, Octavius closed the temple of Janus, which had been open for two years, and caused the augury of safety to be taken.[3]

A Hippopotamus.[2]

Fifteen years previously, a youth from the schools of Apollonia, small in stature and of feeble constitution, had set out alone from that city, and arrived almost unknown at Rome, where notwithstanding the advice of his kindred and the entreaties of his mother, the ambitious boy of eighteen had had the boldness to claim the heritage of his adopted father, who had fallen under twenty dagger-thrusts. At first he had been laughed at. But he had deceived the most able men, he had crushed the strongest, and on the ruins of all parties and of all ambitions, he had raised an unassailable fortune. Having reached the limit, what would he do now? It is said that he consulted Agrippa and Mæcenas; that the former advised him to abdicate, the latter to retain the Empire.[4] Such counsels are only given from the benches of rhetoricians.

Being really a cautious, practical man, without large ideas, Octavius set himself to build up bit by bit a constitution which has remained nameless in political language, and which for three centuries rested upon a lie. Fraud never endures so long; in this case only the form was false. Everyone well understood the

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 30; and Dion, liii. 2.

[2] From a coin of Julia Mammæa, published by Pellerin, *Mélanges*, vol. 1, p. xv.

[3] *Monum. Ancyr.*; Suet., *Octav.*, 31; and Dion, li. 20: τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας (or σωτηρίας.) Dion has previously explained (xxxvii. 24) what this ceremony was, which could only be accomplished when no army was engaged in a campaign. The augurs took the auspices in order to know whether the prayers addressed to the goddess *Salus* would be accepted that day.

[4] Dion, lii., 1-30.

basis of things, but everyone also wished to keep up the illusion, the beloved and glorious image of ancient independence.

He therefore assumed neither the ever-hateful royalty nor the dictatorship of bloody memories. But he was sufficiently acquainted with the history of his country to know that he would easily find the means of disguising the monarchy beneath Republican tinsel, and be able sufficiently to arm absolute power with the laws of liberty. He had been consul since the year 31; under that title he had fought the battle of Actium. For six years longer he was to retain this post, which made him the official head of the State, and legally gave him the greatest part of the executive power.

The Goddess *Salus*.[1]

But above all things he needed an army, a better guarantee at such an epoch than all the decrees and all the magistracies. He was therefore unwilling at any price to disband his legions, and in order to remain at their head he obtained from the senate a decree conferring on him the name of *imperator*. Not that simple title of honour which the soldiers gave to victorious consuls on the battle-field, but that new office under an old name which Cæsar had possessed and which conferred the supreme command of all the military forces of the Empire. The generals thus became his lieutenants, the soldiers swore fidelity to him, and he exercised the power of life and death over all those who bore the sword.[2]

[1] Hirt., *Mythol. Bilderb.*, p. 109.

[2] The title of *imperator* in the sense of victorious general was twenty-one times decreed

The senate represented the ancient constitution; nevertheless he retained it, and, by a piece of irony—which would be most cutting, did not history clearly prove this law of human societies, that the past always continues long into the present—he made the Republican assembly the principal part of the machinery of the imperial government. For this, two things were necessary: that body, which had fallen into great discredit, must be raised again in the eyes of the people, and at the same time it must remain pliant and docile. He attained this double end by getting conferred upon him, with Agrippa as colleague, and under the title of *præfectus morum*, all the powers of the censorship, which allowed him to make a revision of the senate.[1] There were then a thousand senators. At his invitation fifty resigned; he allowed them to retain the senatorial insignia; 140 members, who were either unworthy, or were friends of Antony, were struck off the list.

Some bold enterprise on their part was feared; they were only allowed to enter the Curia one by one, after having been searched, *prætentato sinu*, and while this operation lasted ten armed senators surrounded the curule chair of the *præfectus morum*, who wore a cuirass under his toga. But the *charonites* and the *orcini*[2] accepted their condemnation in silence. This necessary severity was the last act, as it were, of the Civil war. Lest men should see in it the commencement of fresh persecutions, Octavius declared that he had burnt all Antony's papers.[3] This was closing the temple of Janus a second time (28 B.C.).

Many of the Conscript Fathers were poor; Octavius, who knew that in such times no consideration is shown save for wealth, required that every senator should possess at least 1,200,000

to Octavius by his soldiers after a victory. (*Monum. Ancyr.*, i. 22; Dion, lii. 41.) Augustus granted this title to several of his lieutenants. Blæsus, under Tiberius, was the last who obtained it. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 74.)

[1] The censorship was incompatible with the consulship. The senate at that time, *deformis et incondita turba* (Suet., *Octav.*, 35), contained freedmen (Dion, xl. 48, 63), a private soldier (*Id.*, xliii. 22), and a muleteer (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 4; Juvenal, *Sat.*, vii. 199.)

[2] The name *orcini* (*Orcus*, the surname of Pluto) was given to slaves set free by testament; hence the term applied to those senators who had entered the Curia in virtue of Cæsar's will as interpreted by Antony; the word *charonites* is merely a variation of it, but equally unpleasant for those to whom it was applied. (Plutarch, *Anton.*, 17; Suet., *Octav.*, 35.)

[3] He kept some of them, however, says his biographer, and made use of them later on. (Dion, lii. 42.)

sesterces,[1] and as the senate was reached through the quæstorship, he closed that office against all who had not large estates, by imposing upon the quæstors the obligation of providing the people with combats of gladiators. But he took care to raise to the census-value the property of those senators who did not possess the required sum, finding in this measure the double advantage of increasing the authority of his senate and making the nobles his pensioners.

To this assembly, now less numerous and more worthy, he transferred, as Sylla had formerly done, the most important affairs, taking them from the people, and none could attain the plebeian tribuneship till he had entered the senate.

But the tribuneship had fallen so low that senatorial candidates were lacking, so that he was compelled to allow equestrian candidates.[2] The senators displayed little eagerness to repair to the sittings of the Curia, though there were only two a month. The presence of 400 members was necessary to make a *senatus-consultum* valid; as it was impossible to assemble that number, it became necessary to reduce it.

Octavius passed the equestrian order in review with all the ancient pomp. He expelled from its ranks men of evil repute, and those who had not the 400,000 sesterces required by the *Roscian Law;* the remainder he forbade to appear in the arena or on the stage. These measures effected their object, but with this old-fashioned severity he ran the risk of not finding anyone to whom he could give the gold ring. He was determined, however, to keep the three orders complete, as well as the ancient magistrates. Lest his scarcity of knights should be observed, he authorized those who had themselves, or whose fathers had possessed, the equestrian census, to take their seats at the circus upon the benches set apart for that order. He restored the ancient institutions, because, being no longer dangerous, they

[1] About £13,000. (Suet., *Octav.*, 41: Dion, lix. 17; *καί τισι . . . . ἐλάττω . . . ., κεκτημένοις ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει.*) Was there a senatorial census under the Republic? A passage in Cicero (*ad Fam.*, xiv. 5) proves that in the time of Cæsar a great fortune was not necessary in order to be a senator. Marquardt (*Handbuch*, iii. 2, p. 218–228) and Willems (*op. cit.*, p. 189 *sq.*) think rightly that it was an innovation introduced by Augustus, who successively raised the amount from 400,000 to 800,000, and finally to 1,200,000 sesterces.

[2] Dion, liv. 30; Suet., *Octav.*, 40; Dion, lv. 4; *id.*, liv. 35.

became useful instruments in his skilful hands, and served as ornaments of his monarchy.

With a few thousand sesterces a senator or a knight could be made; it seemed more difficult to make patricians, and the war had destroyed so many old families that, in spite of the creation of fresh nobles by Cæsar, patricians were lacking for the religious services which they alone could perform. Octavius was anxious to appear as the restorer of religion, as well as of the State; he obtained commands from the senate and people to create new patrician families.[1]

This parvenu took his precautions against the revolution

Combat of Gladiators.[2]

which had borne him to fortune; he wished for a senate and for nobles; in this state of society, so levelled by servitude and distress, he re-established a hierarchy necessary to place him far above the multitude. It was a vain precaution, for this factitious nobility, like all that do not result from their own work, though it was powerless to resist him who had created it, was too feeble to defend or restrain him, which was another manner of saving him. In the next three centuries Diocletian and Constantine were to take up this idea more seriously, but without any greater success. Octavius nevertheless retained all his rancour against

[1] Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 2, and xi. 25; *Monum. Ancyr.*, No. 8. There were no more than fifty old families: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ . . . . πεντήκοντα . . . . οἶκοι. (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, i. 85.) The last mention is made of patricians in the edict of Diocletian for the *maximum*; but Gaius said that for a long time past the *gentilicium jus* had ceased to exist.

[2] Painting in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii, from Mazois. (*Pomp.*, i. pl. 32.) Two Samnites have fought two *mirmillones*. On the frieze are inscribed the names of the gladiators, those of their masters, and the number of their victories.

the nobility, and he allowed it to appear by forbidding any senator to leave Italy without express permission.[1] It is true that here again his suspicions were veiled under the pretext of desiring a good administration of the State, and that the prohibition was renewed from ancient consular edicts, so that it appeared to be a return to old and wise customs.

The greater part of these measures were taken during his fifth consulship. In the following year (B.C. 28), he closed the census, which registered 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty.[2] The last numbering, in the year 70, had given one-ninth of this, 450,000. This increase, which was especially due to Cæsar, shows that he had perceived the necessity of rapidly assimilating provincials and citizens, and of establishing the Empire upon a broader basis than that which had borne the Republic. Octavius did not follow him in this path. The Roman people now numbered more than 17,000,000 souls; it was a nation. He considered it numerous and strong enough not to bend beneath the weight of the dominion which it upheld, while remaining, with relation to the provincials, a privileged class. Such at least was the part he destined for it, and during his reign the number of citizens only increased through the normal development of the population.[3]

When the ancient censors closed the census, he whose name they had put at the head of the list of senators, generally one of themselves, was called the chief of the senate, *princeps senatus*, and this merely honorary position he was allowed to retain during his life. Agrippa gave his colleague this Republican title (B.C. 28). No power was attached to it; only, in the absence of the consuls elect, the prince of the senate spoke first, and in Roman customs the first expression of opinion carried great weight. What would it be, then, when it issued from the mouth of the man in whose hands lay all the military power of the Empire?

[1] Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 23. Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis were in this respect considered as Italian territory.

[2] *Monum. Ancyr.*, No. 8. This number of 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty makes the total population more than 17,000,000. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, vol. iii. p. 461.)

[3] I return to this question at the beginning of chapter lxx. Augustus made especially individual concessions, *provincialium validissimis*. (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 24.)

But festivals and games succeeded one another; the people had received a measure of wheat much larger than usual, the poor senators gratuities, those who were in debt to the treasury before Actium, the acquittal of their debts, and four times he came to the aid of the exhausted *ærarium*.[1] Why doubt or fear? Had he not given a brilliant pledge of the respect he wished to show for law and justice by suppressing all the triumviral ordinances? Few political men have thus dared to pronounce their own condemnation and repudiate one-half of their lives to secure the public sympathies for the other.[2] Nothing, then, outwardly announced the master; he had just resigned the office of *præfectus morum;* if he was prince of the senate, Catulus and twenty more had been so before him; if he was still consul, it was by the votes of the people. Was he not seen to take the fasces alternately with his colleague, according to the ancient custom, and, like the magistrates of old, to swear, on the expiration of his term of office, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws? The title of *imperator* only declared the new times.

II.—New Powers accorded to Octavius Augustus.

In the first days of the year 27 Octavius repaired to the Curia; he declared that, as his father was avenged and peace re-established, he had the right to withdraw from the fatigues of government and take his share of the repose and leisure which his victories had secured for his fellow-citizens; consequently he placed his powers in the hands of the senate.[3]

Men had resigned themselves to having a master, and here was an unexpected piece of disinterestedness making everything uncertain again. The greater number were struck dumb. Some feared; others, gifted with more foresight, doubted. The explanation of this game, played so seriously in the face of Rome, was

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 32; Dion, liii. 2.

[2] *Monum. Ancyr.*, No. 17. In order to establish the public chest, *fiscus*, he poured into it, in the year 6 B.C., 170,000,000 sesterces. (*Ibid.*, i. 37.)

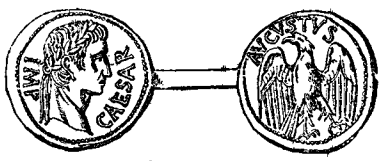
[3] *De reddenda republica bis cogitavit, primum post oppressum statim Antonium . . . .; ac rursus tædio diuturnæ valetudinis.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 28.) *Omnis ejus sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est ut speraret otium.* (Senec., *de Brev. vitæ*, 4.)

soon forthcoming. Those who were in the secret or who had been allowed to guess it cried out against this shameful abandonment of the Republic, against these selfish desires which might suit an obscure citizen, but which were culpable in the man whom the world proclaimed and awaited as its saviour. Octavius hesitated, but the whole of the senate urged him on; at length he accepted, and a law voted by the people and sanctioned by the Conscript Fathers confirmed him in the supreme command of the armies, which he might increase or diminish at his will, and conferred on him the right to receive ambassadors and decide on peace or war.[1] It was not Octavius who usurped; it was the Roman people who despoiled themselves. The forms were preserved and the stamp of legality would be impressed upon despotism. The character of the new monarchy at once manifested itself. The first decree which Augustus demanded of the senate was one to double the pay of the prætorians.

In other respects Octavius kept up his affected moderation. The title of *imperator*, which was offered him for life, he would only accept for ten years, and for even a shorter time should he complete the pacification of the frontiers. The command of the armies required and entailed the command of the provinces, and the senators had placed them all beneath his absolute authority by investing him with proconsular power; he feigned alarm at the magnitude of the charge; the senate ought at least, to share it with him. He would leave them the calm and prosperous regions

[1] Cf. fragm. of the *lex regia*: . . . . *Fœdusve cum quibus velit facere* . . . . *liceat.* I need not add that in the life of Augustus there was no opportunity for drawing-up the *royal law*, of which the jurisconsulti of Justinian made such great use. The promulgation of such a deed would have been contrary to the principles which regulated all his conduct. Indeed the explanation is very simple. The ancient kings of Rome, Cicero affirms in his *de Republica*, only took possession of the power by a curiate law, *lex de imperio lata.* During the whole time the Republic lasted a consul-elect could only in like manner exercise his powers. As in the new organization the senate replaced the ancient assemblies, the act by which it confirmed the emperor, who soon became merely the choice of the soldiers, took the place of the *lex curiata de imperio*: hence the expression of Gaius (*Inst.*, i. 85) that everything which the emperor established by decree, edict, or letter, had the force of law, *cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat.* But the senate having by degrees come to enumerate in this deed all the powers attributed to the emperor (Cf. Tac., *Hist.*, i. 42; ii. 55: *In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur*; and iv. 3: *cuncta principibus solita*), the jurisconsulti put these declarations together and made up a single formula which they called not *lex curiata*, since there were no longer curiæ, but *lex regia*, in memory of the ancient royalty to which they liked any reference.

of the interior, and would take for himself those still in a state of disturbance or threatened by the barbarians. Since everyone sacrificed himself that day to the public good, the senate submitted to the necessity of administering half the Empire. True, they would not have a single soldier in their peaceable provinces, which would be surrounded by the twenty-five legions of the *imperator*. Yet in the fervour of their gratitude they sought a new name for him who was opening up a new era to Rome. Munatius Plancus proposed the title of *Augustus*, which was only given to the gods. The senate and people hailed this semi-apotheosis with repeated acclamations (17th of January, 27 B.C.). A free course was opened to adulation; all plunged into it. A tribune named Pacuvius devoted himself to Augustus and swore an oath not to survive him. A senseless and servile multitude repeated the same oath after him. The long life of the prince absolved them from keeping their word, and the tribune had full leisure to reap the profits of his devotion. It was well to encourage baseness, so Pacuvius received gifts and honours.



Augustus.[1]

The division of the provinces presently rendered another innovation necessary; the revenues also were divided. The public treasury, *ærarium*, was left to the senate, and for the emperor a private chest [*fiscus*] was established, which was to be supplied by certain taxes and the contributions of the imperial provinces. With his usual carefully calculated generosity Augustus contributed a considerable sum to it as a foundation.

At the period which we have now reached, the founder of the Empire had as yet only the military authority in his hands, though in an exceptional manner. But Augustus was never impatient to reach his ends. In order to justify his power he quitted Rome for three years and went to organize Gaul and Spain, subdued the Salassi through one of his lieutenants, and in person quelled the Astures and Cantabri. When he returned, in the year 24, after an illness at Tarragona, the joy caused by his

[1] Small bronze piece of Augustus (semis), representing on the obverse the head of that prince, and on the reverse an eagle, with the inscription, *Augustus*.

recovery and return took the form of fresh concessions. He had promised a distribution of money; before making it he modestly begged the authorization of the senate, who replied by granting him a dispensation from the *Cincian Law* relating to donations.[1] This unimportant dispensation was the first step towards the doctrine, which is the basis of absolute power afterwards proclaimed by Ulpian, that the prince is bound by no law. He was also flattered through his relations. Marcellus, who was both his nephew and son-in-law, was empowered to canvass the consulship ten years before the proper age; a like exemption of five years was granted to Tiberius, his adopted son, and the one was made ædile, the other quæstor.

The idea of hereditary succession showed itself in these premature honours; but Augustus was too prudent to allow it to be now established; on the contrary, he proclaimed his Republican sentiments more loudly than ever. In his eleventh consulship (23 B.C.), a new illness having brought him to the point of death, he summoned round his bed the magistrates and the most illustrious of the senators and knights. They thought he was going to declare Marcellus his successor in the title of *imperator*. But after he had talked of public affairs for some time, he handed over to Piso, his colleague in the consulship, a statement of the forces and revenues of the Empire,[2] and to Agrippa his signet ring. It was Alexander's will over again: *To the most worthy!* In the eyes of many it was even better, since he seemed to constitute the Republic his successor. That none might doubt it, he desired, when the physician Musa had cured him,[3] that the writing to which he had confided his last wishes should be read aloud to the senate. The Fathers all declared that this proof was unnecessary, and refused to have the will read. Then he announced that he should resign the consulship, upon which there arose a fresh opposition on the part of the senate

[1] The Republican senate had assumed to itself this right of dispensing with the observation of a law. (See vol. ii. p. 320.)

[2] *Rationarium imperii.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 28.)

[3] This cure gained for Musa, among other rewards, exemption from taxation, ἀτέλειαν, for himself and all the men of his profession. (Dion, liii. 30.) He had cured Augustus by means of cold baths. Thus we see that the hydropathic system is older than the peasant of Graefenberg. The remedy which had saved Augustus a few months later killed, or at least proved unable to save, Marcellus.

and people; but he persisted in his disinterestedness, quitted Rome, where he could no longer appear without ambition, and went and resigned upon the Alban Mount. The choice of his successor was no less skilful; he substituted for himself a former quæstor of Brutus, who preserved a religious respect for the memory of his general and had piously placed his image in the *atrium* of his house.

Augustus.[2]

It would have been ungrateful to be outdone by such a man. Rome must show herself as generous and confiding as he. He gave up a few months of consulship; the tribunitian power was conferred upon him for life, with the privilege of making any proposal he pleased to the senate,[1] and the proconsular authority, even in the senatorial provinces, with the right to wear the war dress and the sword even within the *pomœrium*. This time the abdication of the senate and people was a real one. For to the military authority which he already held was added the civil power which the tribunes, owing to the undefined nature of their office, had more than once seized. Since ambitious men no longer sought support among the people, but from the armies, the tribuneship had fallen off greatly; it could still, however, furnish

[1] The tribunes and consuls had the right to propose legislative resolutions to the senate and people. Augustus, who held the tribunitian and was soon to hold the consular power, had thus the initiative in law, that is, the real sovereignty. But with his customary prudence he limited himself to making use of it only once at each session of the senate. Cæsar, holding the dictatorship, had no need of the tribunitian power; it was necessary to Augustus, who had not wished to assume the dreaded title of dictator, and who as a patrician and *imperator* could not be tribune. (Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 56.)

[2] Statue in Luni marble, with cuirass and rostrum; the plinth is decorated with the prow of a vessel. (Rome, Museum of the Capitol.)

right to him who had only might, for it represented the national sovereignty.[1] Augustus took care not to refuse the pre-eminently Republican magistracy, which carried with it inviolability and allowed him to receive appeal from all jurisdictions, to stay the action of all the magistracies, and the vote of all the assemblies, for the first duty of the tribune was to watch over the safety of the people, *ad tuendam plebem*, even if, in order to do so, he should have to transgress the laws. Had not Cicero formulated the celebrated and dangerous axiom: *Salus populi suprema lex?*

The emperors reckoned the years of their princedom by those of their tribunitian power; thus the magistracy which had established liberty became the principal instrument of absolute government.

Augustus would have, then, the right to propose, that is, to make laws; to receive and judge appeals,[2] that is, the supreme jurisdiction; to stop by the tribunitian veto any measure, any sentence, that is, to oppose his will at all points to the laws and magistrates; to convoke and preside over the senate and the people, that is, to direct according to his pleasure the comitia of election. And these prerogatives he would hold, not for a year, but for life, not in Rome only and to the distance of a mile from its walls, but throughout the whole Empire, not in conjunction with ten colleagues, but exercised by himself alone; and finally, he would be irresponsible, since his charge never expired, and according

The Seal of Augustus.[3]

[1] The power of the tribunes could only be exercised at Rome and within one mile of its walls; the *potestas tribunicia* of the *imperator* extended throughout the Empire. Dion (li. 19) certainly confines the *potestas tribunicia* of Augustus to the ancient limits; but Suetonius (*Tiber.*, 11) speaks of Tiberius exercising it under Augustus at Rhodes.

[2] Ἔκκλητον δικάζειν. (Dion, li. 19.) Under the Republic a man could invoke the intercession of the tribunes or appeal to a magistrate of equal or superior standing against the sentence of the prætor or any act of a magistrate whereby he thought himself injured. Being perpetual tribune, consul, and proconsul, Augustus naturally had the right to receive and judge appeals. The appellant deposited a sum of money which was confiscated when the appeal failed. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 28.) Nero imposed the same obligation on those who appealed to the senate from ordinary judges. (*Ibid.*)

[3] Bronze seal discovered at Nimes in 1739. (*Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, in duodec., vol. xiv. p. 105.) The Museum of Florence possesses a seal of Augustus found in the tomb of that prince.

to Roman custom, the magistrate need render no account so long as he was in office. Here then we find ourselves in the face of monarchy, and none could accuse Augustus of usurpation, for everything proceeded legally and even without any offensive innovation. He was neither king nor dictator, but only prince of the senate, *imperator* in the army, tribune in the Forum, and proconsul in the provinces. What had formerly been divided among several was now united in the hands of one; what had been annual had become permanent. That was all the revolution.

After this great step Augustus halted for four years, which he employed in organizing the eastern provinces and convincing the Romans of the uselessness of their Republican magistracies. Of all the great divisions of the public power, there remained out of his hands only the censorship and consulship; I do not speak of the supreme pontificate, which he disdainfully made over to Lepidus. But the censorship was practically abolished, and he had insisted upon having the consulship given to him every year. In order to let the Romans make one last trial of them, he re-established the one and gave up the other.

The comitia for the year 23 appointed Marcellus Eserninus and Arruntius consuls. As though nature had been the accomplice of Augustus, no sooner had they assumed office than the Tiber overflowed, the plague desolated Italy, and famine alarmed the city. The people, seeing in these disasters manifest signs of the anger of the gods, rose against the senate, which allowed Octavius to desert his post and abandon the Republic.

The senators, shut up in the Curia, were threatened with being burnt alive there unless they appointed him dictator and censor for life. Augustus refused, and the people insisting, he rent his garments in grief, he laid bare his breast, and demanded death rather than suffer the shame of making any attempt upon the liberty of his fellow-citizens. He accepted the supervision of the victualling however, in order to have the right to watch with more solicitude over the maintenance of the people. As for the censorship, he bestowed it upon two former proscripts, Munatius Plancus and Paulus Lepidus (22).

These two Republicans were well chosen to bring dishonour upon the great Republican office and deprive the Romans of the

respect that they still retained for it. "An unhappy censorship," says a contemporary, "which they passed in continual debates, with no honour to themselves and no advantage to the Republic. The one had not the energy for a censor, the other had not the manners. Paulus was incapable of fulfilling his charge; Plancus should have dreaded it."[1] The censorship never recovered from the blow. Munatius and Lepidus were the last who were invested with that great magistracy in its ancient form.[2] When the troubles of the year 19 led to a desire for the re-establishment of an office which should allow of reaching those whom the law could not touch, Augustus did for the censorship what he had done for the tribuneship, and what he was afterwards to do for the consulship—he took the authority without the title; the office of *præfectus morum* was conferred on him for five years, an undefined and therefore all the more formidable power.[3]

The consulship fell in the same manner. He had not accepted it for the year 21. Forthwith the canvassing of former days reappeared; disturbances broke out, and all the city was agitated by those mad ambitions which pursued a shadow of power as though it were the power itself. Augustus was then in Sicily; he summoned the candidates before him, and after having sharply reprimanded them, caused the election to be made in their absence. But the peace of Rome was too important to be neglected. Agrippa, whom he had sent into honourable exile in order to please the young Marcellus, now dead,[4] was recalled from Mitylene, whither he had retired, affianced to the emperor's daughter and sent to the capital; order reappeared with him. Things went well till about the time when Augustus was making his preparations for quitting the East. He allowed Agrippa to set forth against the revolted Cantabri, and left Rome to herself once more. Wishing, no

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 95.

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 37. Later on Claudius held the censorship with Vitellius, and Vespasian with Titus. (Suet., *Claud.*, 16; *Vesp.*, 8; *Tit.*, 6.)

[3] This was not the old censorship, since the troublesome right of making the census was detached from it; but the office of *præfectus morum* continued to give him who filled it a right of surveillance over all the citizens.

[4] Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, had displayed great displeasure at that prince giving his signet to Agrippa in his illness. Augustus soothed this displeasure by a line of conduct at which Agrippa in turn took offence (23 B.C.). Being sent into Syria he had withdrawn to Mitylene. (Dion, liii. 33; Suet., *Octav.*, 66.) Marcellus died in the year 20 B.C.

doubt, to see what would happen in his absence, he did not make known before the 1st of January, 19 B.C., his refusal to accept one of the two posts of consul which had been reserved for him, so that the other consul, Sentius Saturninus, entered office alone. This novelty irritated the people; fresh comitia of election having been announced, men repaired to them with a passion and anger which recalled the palmiest days of violence in the Forum; blood flowed. Circumstances appeared propitious for the senate to reappear upon the scene; they exhumed the formula of old Republican days, whereby the consul was invested with dictatorial authority: *Caveat consul ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.* Sentius knew his part and his strength better; he refused what was bestowed upon him, and the senate sent deputies to Augustus. The *imperator* was satisfied, and named one of them consul. This was assuming the rights of the comitia, but the standards of Crassus which he brought back with him threw a glorious veil over the usurpation. Egnatius Rufus, the chief author of the disturbance, was punished with death.[1]

Many decrees were passed very flattering to his vanity, a littleness exceedingly common among the Romans, who were so grave in appearance; but he only accepted one, that which consecrated an altar to the Fortune of Happy Return. But the experiment was made. As soon as Augustus went away Rome fell into disorder. Wise people thought so; they said so aloud in the senate; and on re-entering the city Augustus met a proposal to accept the consular authority for life. He already had the reality of power, the army and the provinces; a portion daily increased, without any fresh effort on his part, of the legislative and judicial authority; and finally, he was the real head of the administration and of the executive power, for the offices which seemed to be independent were open only to his creatures. He could therefore allow the nobles of Rome to play at Republic with that consulship which, hemmed in as it was on all sides, was no longer aught but an empty appearance. But his monarchical establishment would have been incomplete had he failed to get into his hands the office

[1] Dion, liv. 10; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10. The new consul, Lucretius Cinna Vespillo, was one of the proscripts of the triumvirate. Dion relates (liv. 13) that Augustus often wore a little cuirass beneath his toga, even in the senate.

which gave a man power over all the citizens; which for 500 years had represented the glory and might of Rome; which only lately had been on the point of changing to dictatorship. He would fain be consul, however, as he was tribune; I mean that he would hold all the rights of his office unshared, though allowing others to bear the title and insignia. Not only did he maintain the consulship, but the needs of the service obliged him to make three, four, and even a greater number of consuls every year (*consules suffecti*);[1] he went so far as to separate the title from the functions in order to bestow the former without the latter, and the inoffensive magistracy lasted longer than the Empire itself.[2]

We have seen that Augustus had the initiative in laws, in the Curia as prince of the senate, at the comitia as perpetual tribune; he also held legislative power in another manner. Most of the Roman magistrates could publish edicts.[3] In his character of proconsul, tribune, and *præfectus morum* Augustus already possessed this right, but it was limited to matters relating to each of those offices. In giving him the consular power the senators extended the *jus edicendi* of the consuls in his case to almost every question.[4] They wished to swear obedience beforehand to all the *leges Augustales*. Relying more on his own strength than on their oaths, he dispensed with this useless formality. But he made ample use of a prerogative in appearance more modest. Being interrogated

[1] Augustus bore the consular insignia, sat between the two consuls as their chief, and always had the twelve fasces, whereas the consuls in charge only had them a month each in turns. As for the candidates, he presented them to the tribes or, like Cæsar, recommended them by a message, *per libellos*. *Commendo vobis illum . . .*, etc. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41.) The *ornamenta consularia* conferred no right; the *suffecti*, on the contrary, were really consuls; but the *fasti* only give the names of the two consuls who began the year.

[2] The consulship was abolished by Justinian in 541, sixty-five years after the fall of the Western Empire.

[3] *Adjuvandi vel supplendi, vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam.* (*Digest*, i. 1, fr. 7, § 1.) The constitution thus accorded the magistrates a share in the legislative power that they might fill up or correct by their edicts the omissions and defects in the laws which time brought to light. Hence resulted that rich development of the science of law which no other people has ever displayed. Of course the same latitude was not allowed to all magistrates in their edicts. Thus the curule-ædiles only regulated matters relating to public order and municipal right. Yet there remains in the *jus civile* more than one trace of their prescriptions. The actions *redhibitoria* and *quanti minoris* which the *Digest* borrowed of them have even passed into the French Civil Code, Art. 1644. (Cf., on the *jus edicendi*, Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 6.)

[4] His edicts and rescripts had the force of law: *νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βόυλοιτο.* (Dion, li. 15; liv. 10; lvi. 38; Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani;* Gaius, i. 5; *Dig.*, i. 2; i. 4.)

from all parts of the Empire about difficult or novel cases, he replied to the magistrates, cities, and even private individuals, and these replies had the force of law. Tiberius afterwards testified to the number and importance of the legislative acts of his predecessor.[1] He himself followed the example, and his successors also imitated it, and the *edicts*, letters, *imperial rescripts*, became the most abundant source for the *jurisconsulti* of Justinian. Being no longer drawn up from the narrow point of view of a city, but in the general interest, they embodied natural law in civil right. But for them the Roman code would never have been called *written reason.*

Augustus had only accepted the command of the provinces and armies for ten years; at the commencement of the year 18 he obtained the renewal of his powers for five years. This time would suffice, said he, for the completion of his task. But when it had elapsed he demanded a fresh prorogation for ten years, and thus continued until his death, protesting each time against the violence done to his feelings in the name of the public interest. In memory of these repeated abdications of the senate and people, his successors always celebrated the tenth year of their reign by solemn feasts, *sacra decennalia.*[2]

This senate, which granted all that was demanded of it, was a very docile one certainly. But political bodies sufficiently numerous for the responsibility of each member to be lost in the mass do not always lend themselves to an absolute resignation, and the senate had just shown some desire to act. Augustus, who wished to appear to govern through it, decided upon purging it a second time.[3]

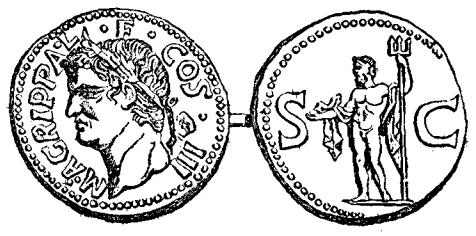
Agrippa, whom he associated for five years with the tribunitian

[1] The Roman people did not, however, resign their legislative power in favour of Augustus. They communicated it to him in such a manner that this power was exercised conjointly by the emperor, the senate, and the comitia. Had this division been really made the result would have been anarchy in the very power which should regulate all others, that which makes the law. But the senate and comitia only decreed what it pleased the emperor to make them vote.

[2] Dion, liii. 16. Under Tiberius it was no longer aught but a mere ceremony. (*Ibid.*, lvii. 24; lviii. 24.)

[3] On two more occasions he had recourse to this measure, in the year 13 B.C. and in 4 A.D. (Dion, liv. 26, and lv. 13.) The Monument of Ancyra only says *ter senatum legi.* This was because he did not directly intervene in the fourth revision. Τοῦτο δι' ἑτέρων ἔπραξεν. He chose ten senators, from whom three were taken by lot to carry out the operation.

power, also aided him in the operation. Dion and Suetonius give the details, exaggerating no doubt the fears with which it inspired Augustus. A few free out-spoken words were heard. One of the men excluded showed his breast covered with scars; another was indignant at being admitted while his father was expelled; and Antistius Labeo, who was chosen with thirty of his colleagues to present each a list of five candidates, placed at the head of his the name of Lepidus. "Do you know none worthier?" demanded Augustus, angrily. "Do you not retain him as sovereign pontiff?" coldly replied the great jurisconsult. And Lepidus again took his seat in the Curia. But this return to the senate did not rehabilitate him. Augustus avenged himself by indirect sarcasms, and the poor old man more than once regretted the solitude of Circeii. His death, which occurred five years later (B.C. 13) left the high pontificate vacant, and Augustus obtained it from the people for himself; it was his last conquest; there was no longer anything left worth taking.[2] A few years later (B.C. 2) he received the name of father of his country, a title apparently merely honorary, which, as we shall see further on,[3] had a certain religious importance, and which for that reason all his successors retained. It was no doubt on account of this title that the priests were ordered to add to their prayers to the gods for the senate and Roman people, prayers for the



Coin of Agrippa.[1]

[1] Head of Agrippa, and on the reverse, Neptune between the letters S. C. Bronze coin.

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 31; Dion, liii. 17. The chief pontiff was the head of the official religion and of the college of priests, which regulated the ceremonies of religion, examined all novelties which men attempted to introduce, and, in a word, took cognizance of all religious questions. In an inscription from the arch of Pavia, which has been preserved to us by the anonymous copy of Einsiedeln, the titles of *pontifex maximus, augur, quindecemvir sacris faciundis,* and *septemvir epulonum,* are given to Augustus in the year 7 B.C. These were the four great sacerdotal colleges of Rome, of which all the emperors were afterwards members. Immediately after their accession they were enrolled in those to which they did not yet belong. (Borghesi, i. p. 352, and iii. p. 429 *seq.*) The office of chief pontiff was held for life, like the title of *imperator.* Accordingly we find double indications made on the coins of Augustus. For other offices the prince reckoned the number of years for which he had held them.

[3] Chapter lxvi. § 3.

emperor also, a custom which has been retained by modern nations.

Augustus as High Pontiff.[1]

To a superficial observer, however, the Republic still existed.[2]

[1] Statue in the Vatican, Round Saloon, No. 542.

[2] Under the Republic the comitia possessed a triple power, electoral, judicial, and legislative. Augustus suppressed their *judicial power* (Dion, lvi. 40) in favour of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, the urban prætor and the senate. (*Id.*, lii. 31.) The prefect of the city also judged in many cases and without assistance from juries. Augustus appeared to have more respect for the *electoral powers* of the comitia. He restored to the people the right, which Cæsar and the triumvirs had assumed to themselves, of appointing to offices (Suet., *Octav.*, 40), but he really retained the power of disposing of the most important functions: *potissima arbitrio principis, quædam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 15.) He nominated himself directly to one half the offices, and for the remainder he presented the candidates to the comitia and solicited votes for them, thus giving no opportunity for a refusal. (Suet., *Octav.*, 56.) This

Everyone believed in it; even in the time of Tiberius, Velleius continually spoke of it. Was there not a senate occupied with the gravest matters; consuls who retained the honours of their rank, *civitatis summa potestas*, and still appeared to conduct all affairs reserved for the senate; prætors who administered justice in civil and criminal cases;[1] tribunes who exercised their veto even up to the time of the Antonines;[2] and finally quæstors and ædiles who held office in the name of the senate and people;[3] whilst the

recommendation even became, as a legal act, an actual proposal made to the people and requiring their acceptance. (Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani*, and App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 103; Suet., *Vitell.*, 11; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 77.) His consular power, moreover, allowed him to exclude the candidates who were displeasing to him. Tiberius had none of this circumspection; he suppressed the electoral comitia. But Dion (liii. 21) agrees with Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 91), Pliny the Younger (*Panegyr.*, 63, 64, 77, 92), Quintilian (*Instit.*, vi. 3, 62), Suetonius (*Dom.*, 10), and Vopiscus (*Taciti Vita*, 7) in stating that there was an apparent concourse of citizens at the election, and this, he adds, is still seen to this day (under Alexander Severus). It was only in the third century that the emperors nominated themselves to all the offices. (*Digest*, xlvii. 14; *fr. ex libris Modestini.*) Even then there was an appearance of *comitia centuriata*, and the flag still floated over the Janiculum. (Dion, xxxvii. 28.) As for the legislative comitia, they are found under Augustus (Suet., *Octav.*, 34; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 16; and Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 12), under Tiberius (*ad Ann.*, 24, *medendum senatus decreto aut lege*), and further on, *lata lex*. This was the formula for a law voted in the comitia. They are found under Claudius; under Vespasian we find a *populi plebisve jussus* in the Royal Law. Under Nerva (*Digest*, xlvii. 21, 3) and Trajan mention is still made of laws voted in the comitia, and up to the time of Hadrian right seems to have been wholly regulated by laws and *senatus-consulta*. (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 3.) Even in the third century the adoption called *adrogatio* could only take place at Rome, *et populi auctoritate* (Cf. Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 98–108, and Ulp., *Regul. lib.*, viii. 2–5); but in that case the thirty curiæ which formerly exercised the *auctoritas populi* were represented by thirty lictors, presided over by the chief pontiff, and it was to this man that Antonine addressed himself when he wished to permit wards *adrogari*. (Gaius, *ibid.*) The *jussus populi et plebis* was also a mere formality at least 100 years before Hadrian. The imperial policy delighted in making words last far longer than things.

[1] There were as many as sixteen under Cæsar; Octavius restored the number to twelve. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 89; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 4; Dion, liii. 32; lvi. 25.) Fifteen or sixteen were found under Tiberius. They presided over the *quæstiones perpetuæ* as long as they existed—courts formed of senators, knights, tribunes of the treasury, and *ducenarii* appointed by the prætor. Later on a prætor was established for *fideicommissa*, another for disputes between the treasury and private persons, a third for wards. (Suet., *Claud.*, 23; Dion, lx. 10; Capit., *Marc Anton.*, 10.) They were obliged to be at least thirty years old. (Dion, lii. 20.)

[2] Under Tiberius a tribune opposed his veto to the senate and won. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 77.) Under Claudius the tribunes still convoked the senate. (Dion, lx. 16.) Under Nero a tribune set free some men arrested by a prætor, but a limit was then set to their jurisdiction. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 28.) Upon the duration of their veto, Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 26; *Hist.*, ii. 91; iv. 9 (under Vespasian); Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 23; ix. 13 (under Nerva). They retained the right of bringing proposals before the senate, and shared with the prætors, ædiles, and quæstors the superior administration of the fourteen divisions of Rome.

[3] The quæstors, who numbered twenty after Sylla's time (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22), and were obliged to be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20), had the same powers as in the past except that the administration of the *ærarium* was taken away from them and entrusted to two

comitia of tribes and centuries assembled to confirm the laws, appoint magistrates, and even, should it seem good to them, reject the proposals of the prince?

If a rogatio was in question, Augustus came and voted with his tribe; if a trial, he gave his evidence as a witness, and the advocate might with impunity take him to task or utter sarcasms against him;[1] if an election, he led forth the candidate whom he supported amid the crowd, recommending him for their votes, but always adding, even to his nearest relatives, "if he deserves them."

This economical and simple man, always dressed in wool that his wife, his sister, or his daughter had spun,[2] who for forty years, winter and summer, lived in the same room in a modest house on the Palatine, the door of which was ornamented with laurels and a crown of oak leaves; who in the senate spoke, listened, and voted like an ordinary senator; who never shut his door against any,[3] nor refused his aid to the poorest of his clients; who had friends; who went out to dinner without a guard,[4] wherever he was asked, and gave his advice at family councils when it was desired;[5] and who finally, in order to save an obscure prisoner, pleaded with the

ex-prætors; but in exchange they had charge of the senatus-consulta, of which the ædiles were deprived. (Dion, liv. 36.) Later on there were *quæstores candidati principis*, whose exclusive duty it was to read the letters from the prince to the senate. (*Digest*, i. 13, 1, § 2; Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 27.) The ædiles, the number of whom was raised to six by the creation under Cæsar of two ædiles for the distribution of wheat (Dion, xliii. 51), had the right of judging certain matters, which for greater regularity Augustus made over to the prætors. (*Id.*, liii. 2.) A share of their powers also went to the prefect of the city, the superintendent of provisions, and the commander of the night-watch; there remained to them only the surveillance of the streets, markets, baths, and books, the supervision *lupanarium* and *popinarum*, the care of carrying into force the sumptuary laws, which last duty Tiberius took away from them (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 52–3), and the heavy expense of the *ludorum solemnium*. Accordingly the ædileship was little sought after, although on more than one occasion Augustus helped the ædiles from his private purse to do the honours of their office; after the third century they are no longer mentioned. The vigintivirs (originally twenty-six in number) also existed.

[1] Like Murena in the trial of Primus. (Dion, liv. 3.) Violent libels were written against him; he contented himself with merely answering them publicly. (Suet., *Octav*, 55.)

[2] At his meals there were only three, or at most six, courses, and these always of the plainest fare.

[3] *Admittebat et plebem.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 53.) A suppliant presented a petition to him, trembling: "Truly," said he, "you make as much fuss about it as if you were offering a piece of money to an elephant." (*Ibid.*)

[4] He had a personal guard of German soldiers however [like the Swiss or Scottish guard of some recent courts.—*Ed.*].

[5] Senec., *de Clem.*

prosecutor instead of interposing his veto;[1] a man like this, what was he? A master or a God, as some declared him to be? No, he was peace and order personified. When the people and senate clubbed together to raise statues to him, he refused, but erected them to the deities whom he wished to have honoured above himself: Public Health, Concord and Peace.

Health (Hygieia).[2]

To enable him to realize and bestow these good things, the essence of all the great Republican offices had been extracted and given to him, and from the union of these powers had been formed an authority still nameless in the city, and which was limitless, because he who possessed it *permanently* was the representative of the Roman people, the depositary of their dignities, the guardian of their rights, which he alone exercised in the name of the whole Republic. But let us follow the example of Augustus, who surrounded these superseded

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 56–7, and 72; Dion, xlix. 15; liv. 15 and 30; Vell. Paterc., ii. 81. On returning from a journey he always entered Rome at night in order to avoid the noise and display. Till within two years of his death he took part in the family festivals of his friends. (Suet., *Octav.*, 53; Dion, lvi. 26.) Although he possessed the right he never wore the sword or war-dress at Rome, but only the senatorial toga. (Suet., *Octav.*, 73.) He forbade men to call him master or lord. (*Ibid.*, 53, and Dion, liv. 12.) "Let them speak ill of me," wrote he to Tiberius, who blamed him for his moderation; "what does it matter as long as they cannot do me any harm?"

[2] Statue in the St. Petersburg Museum. "In this statue," says Clarac, "we have the most pleasing of the representations of the goddess of Health and her serpent." The Louvre Museum possesses a Hygieia, which we gave in vol. ii. p. 362.

dignities with respect, and was very careful not to speak aloud of their decay.

Their decay, forsooth! The people still made laws and bestowed offices; the imperial senate had more prerogatives than ever the Republican one had possessed. It governed half the Empire, and received ambassadors from foreign princes. It had the public treasury in its keeping; its decrees were laws,[1] as in the time of patrician omnipotence, and great criminals were withdrawn from the judgment of the people and brought under its jurisdiction.[2] It decreed triumphs, and more than thirty generals had already obtained them in ten years. It was the source of all legality, even in the case of the emperor, who held his powers from it, and through it obtained their prolongation. It was the senate which dispensed legal prescriptions,[3] and ratified conventions made by the prince with foreign kings and peoples; which in time to come was to confirm the emperors chosen by the soldiers, appoint some itself, or, if need arose, tear up their wills even should the signature be that of Tiberius. More than this, it made gods; we shall see it decreeing Olympus or the Gemoniæ Scalæ to the dead prince. What was wanting to it, then? Assuredly,

[1] *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 4, and *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 9.)

[2] The senate usually tried attempts against the State or the prince, also extortioners and senators and their children who were accused of any crime. To enter the senate, the number of which was restored to 600 members (Dion, liv. 13), a man must be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20); he must be neither mutilated nor infirm (*id.*, liv 26); he must possess 1,200,000 sesterces (Suet., *Octav.*, 41); under Trajan, 4,000,000 (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 3); and must have been quæstor. The senate was convoked twice a month, on the Kalends and on the Ides, except in September and in October, the fever months at Rome, during which it was in recess and was replaced by a vacation assembly. The prince could convoke it as often as he thought fit. (Dion, lv. 3; liv. 3.) The consuls and prætors retained their right of convocation; the tribunes at length lost theirs. (Dion, lxxviii. 37.) The presidency belonged to him who had convoked the assembly. When the prince was not president he could always bring forward proposals, *jus tertiæ relationis* (Vopis., *Prob.*, 12); 400 members formed a quorum, but as the senators neglected their illusory duties it became necessary in the year 2 B.C. to lower this number. Two years later Augustus was further obliged to punish the absent by fines. (Dion, liv. 35; lv. 3.) From the year 59 scribes, under the superintendence of a senator, kept a register of the acts of the senate, *Acta diurna.* Octavius forbade their publication. (Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 36, and the extract given by Aulus Gellius (xiv. 7), from a treatise by a Varro on the keeping of order in the senate.) Expulsion from the senate rendered a man incapable of being a judge or witness by virtue of the *Julian Law, repetundarum.* (*Digest*, i. 9, fr. 2.) By the *lectio senatus* which he exercised in virtue of the *censoria potestas*, the emperor summoned to the senate *inter quæstorios, tribunicios* or *prætorios* whom he would (the twenty quæstors became twenty new senators every year), and by his right of initiative he made this great instrument of the imperial administration work as he desired.

[3] Dion, liii. 18, 28; lvi. 32; lx. 23.

neither rights nor titles, nor even liberty of discussion, for more than once Augustus fled from the Curia to escape violent altercations.

Yet what a ridiculous contrast between the pomp of the forms and the emptiness of the reality! The sovereign people was no longer aught but a collection of beggars, who seemed to desire whatever he wished who fed, amused, and paid them; and the Conscript Fathers, the senators of Rome, spoke and voted as became the creatures of the prince, who daily begged of him the money wherewith to escape their creditors. They did not even possess beneath their laticlave that liberty of the poor man in his rags, to laugh openly at the solemn comedy played by Augustus and the Roman nobility.

III.—Fresh Offices, Military, Financial, and Administrative Reorganization.

Before showing how Augustus justified his power by his services, we must see in what manner the higher administration of the Empire was modified in order to make it fit in with the new *régime*.

As there were apparently two powers in the State, the prince and the senate, so there were two orders of magistrates, those of the Roman people and those of the emperor. The former, after pretence of an election by the senate and people, annually filled the ancient Republican offices, with the exception of the censorship; the latter, appointed directly by the emperor, and subject to dismissal at his will, were invested for an undetermined period with new functions; and one of the rights of these functions was always, and this is characteristic, military authority.

In the year 25 Augustus made a regular magistracy of what had been only a confidential mission to Mæcenas and Agrippa. He appointed Messala prefect of the city, "to repress without delay turbulent slaves or citizens;"[1] and for the purpose of

[1] There had already been *præfecti urbis*, but under totally different conditions. The powers of the new prefect of the city extended to a distance of 100 miles from the walls of Rome. He received appeals in all civil suits tried at Rome as far as 100 miles round, and he at length

maintaining order he gave him three urban cohorts. This prefect, the representative of the emperor in his absence, held an authority at once military and civil, and like all the prince's officers, he was not subject to the yearly dismissal; Piso, the third prefect of the city, remained in office for twenty years, until his death.

This post, which was usually entrusted to the leading man among the senators, and was a fresh encroachment upon the consular authority, grew with the power from which it emanated; yet less rapidly than that of prætorian prefect, which began more humbly. In every Roman army the leader had a personal guard, *cohors prætoria*, formed of his bravest soldiers. Augustus, transforming the custom into a regular institution, organized nine prætorian cohorts, each containing 1,000 men each, with a certain number of horse;[1] three remained at Rome, six in the various towns of Italy. These prætorians had double pay, a brilliant uniform, and probably the rank of centurion, for they bore the vine-stock. They were under the command of two knights, prætorian prefects, who had the power of life and death over their soldiers. Under Augustus the prætorian prefects were merely military leaders, but they gradually encroached upon the civil authority, and at length became the chief personages in the Empire after the emperor.

Mæcenas.[2]

Below the prefect of the city were the *prefectus vigilum* [a prefect of police], who commanded the seven cohorts of night-watchmen, with the commission to secure the safety of the city,

acquired almost the whole of the criminal jurisdiction, with the right of banishing from Italy, etc. He decided without juries, taking only the *opinion* of his counsel. (See in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1, the analysis of a rescript of Septimus Severus upon his prerogatives; *ibid.*, xxxvii. 15, fr. 1, § 2.)

[1] Each cohort had ten *turmæ* of cavalry, each numbering thirty-two men. From Vespasian's time there were ten cohorts. [This organization was similar to that of our regiments of Guards or Household Brigade.—*Ed.*]

[2] From a fine amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2077 in the Catalogue. The name of the celebrated engraver Dioscorides, which is seen behind the head, makes this engraved gem very valuable. (See above, p. 674, the same man when younger.)

and stop fires, and the *præfectus annonæ*,[1] who had the care of victualling Rome. The *vigiles*, who were drawn from among the freedmen, obtained the rights of citizenship after three years' service.

"In order to make a great number of citizens participators in the administration of the Republic," says Suetonius, naïvely, "Augustus created new offices, such as the superintendence of public works, roads, and aqueducts, of the bed of the Tiber, of the distributions of wheat to the people. He increased the number of prætors, and would have liked to have two colleagues given him instead of one, when he was consul; but this he did not obtain, everyone exclaiming that his majesty was already greatly impaired by the fact of his sharing with another an honour which he had the right to enjoy alone." Suetonius might have also enumerated the numerous officers of procurator created by Augustus for the financial administration of the Empire, the grades in the twenty-five legions promised to zeal and devotion, and in Rome itself that army of petty municipal officers whose importance he raised, 1,064 *vicomagistri*. Claudius went still further; he instituted "the imaginary service," that is to say, officials with no duties to perform. Such was the spirit of the new government: to weaken offices by splitting them up; to increase the number of functions in order to attach to the prince's cause those who accepted them and to surround with an outward show of respect the ancient Republican magistracies, as the illustrious dead are covered with a magnificent pall. We must also observe, however, in these innovations the sincere desire shown to ameliorate the public administration. These numerous disciplined agents who received a fixed stipend in order that more might be required of them, answered better to the needs of the times and rendered the maintenance of order more easy.

Augustus, who called himself a simple citizen of Rome, could

[1] The *præfectus annonæ* saw that the wheat from the corn-producing provinces, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, arrived at the appointed times, and that monopolists did not artificially raise the price of it. The *præfectus frumenti dandi* superintended the public distributions, and prevented those from sharing in them who had no right thereto. There were also the *præfecti ærarii, alvei Tiberis, aquarum,* the *curatores ædium sacrarum monumentorumque publicorum tuendorum, viarum, riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis,* etc. (Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 6, and the collections of inscriptions.)

not have ministered like a king; his friends gave him the help of their experience. We know them already: Agrippa, Mæcenas, Valerius Messala, Statilius Taurus, Sallust, the adopted son of the historian, and a few old *consulares*. The great number of questions to be studied compelled him at length to distribute the principal matters regularly among his friends. Thus he set over each province a *consularis*, who was its representative, as it were, at Rome, and who received all the appeals coming from it. This council [or cabinet] was organized by degrees. Suetonius, Dion, and Zonaras speak of fifteen members, and afterwards twenty, who were changed every six months, and chosen by lot. The lot, I imagine, was neither so blind nor so free as to introduce any independent councillor. The consuls in office, who formed a higher tribunal for Italy and the senatorial provinces,[2] and a functionary from each order, were summoned to it. This council, from which arose the imperial consistory, and which in case of need became

Sallust the Historian.[1]

[1] Marble bust found at Rome, near the *porta Salaria*, with the name of C. SAL. C. (Caius Sallustius Crispus) inscribed on the pedestal. (H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des marbres du Musée Campana*, No. 62.) The friends of Augustus and grand-nephew and adopted son of the historian had inherited his fortune; he possessed rich copper mines in the country of the Centrones in the Cottian Alps. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 2.)

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 4; Dion, liii. 21; Suet., *Octav.*, 35.

a high court of justice,[1] was reorganized in the year 13 A.D. It was then composed of twenty members chosen for one year, of the consuls in office and the consuls-elect, of the princes of the imperial family, and all whom the emperor chose to invite; its decisions had the force of *senatus-consulta*.[2]

Hitherto, at least, the government had seemed to be exercised from the midst of the senate; it was now transported to the palace of the prince; Augustus could carry on the administration of the Empire in his bed.[3]

In his eagerness to organize everything, he wished to bring the study of law itself under discipline, and to make an official magistracy of what had always been a free profession. He created a college of *prudentes* who gave answers to all questions in the prince's name. The judges whom he chose to institute himself were obliged to accept the decisions of these *jurisconsulti* when they were unanimous. A judicial law regulated the procedure.[4]

These rights conferred on the prince, and this administration in which he enveloped Roman society would have been useless

[1] In the year 4 B.C., in order to decide a dispute between Archelaus and Herod Antipas, Augustus caused an account to be laid before him of the extent of their father's States and the amount of his revenues. He read the letters of Varus, governor of Syria, and of Sabinus, his steward in Judæa; then he assembled a great council of the principal men of the Empire, at which C. Cæsar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, whom he had adopted, held the chief place, and asked each to give his opinion upon the matter under discussion. (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 4, and *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 9.) He again assembled his friends and the principal men of Rome to know whether the Jews should be allowed to unite with Syria or Archelaus should reign. (*Id., Bell Jud.*, ii. 8.)

[2] Dion, lvi. 28. This council was itself very ancient; the governors of the province (Cic., *Verr.*, ii. 29) and even simple judges (Val. Max., viii. 2) gave their decisions according to the opinion of those who assisted them. Mention is made of the imperial council under Nero (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 62, and Suet., *Nero*, 15), under Vespasian (Suet., *Vesp.*, 17), under Trajan (Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 22; vi. 22 and 31), etc. The upper Empire had thus a sort of council of State to elaborate laws, which was at the same time a court of justice, but its members had neither an official and permanent nomination nor regular sessions, nor any particular place for their deliberations. Like our courts of appeal, they did not make, but determine the sense of, the law "*ut major* juris auctoritas haberetur." (*Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 47.)

[3] Dion, lvi. 28. Three of the members of this council, men of consular rank, were entrusted with a sort of ministry of foreign affairs. The envoys of kings and allied nations addressed themselves to these alone, except in important cases, in which the senate or the prince decided. The freedmen and slaves of the prince were kept in the background, but some of them already held posts which afterwards became very important; *a libellis, ab epistulis latinis, ab epist. græcis*, etc. (Cf. Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwaltunggesch.*, p. 202.)

[4] In the year 25. (Paulus, in the *Digest*, xxii. 5, fr. 4, and xlviii. 2, fr. 3.) *Quibus permissum est condere jura.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 7.) *Sæpe . . . . judicum decurias recognovit.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 29.) Pomponius, in the *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 47, and Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 7. Later on the prince formed a privy council for juridical and disputed matters, the *auditorium*.

but for the army; this he made permanent after having purged it, too, and subjected it to severe discipline. Then, with a skill in which Agrippa's advice is evident, Augustus laid down the principle of massing the troops, avoiding detachments and small garrisons, in which discipline and military spirit are lost. He had twenty-five legions recruited from outside Italy, and especially by voluntary enlistment; these he posted along the frontiers.[1] Facing the Barbarians were 300,000 men stationed in permanent camps (*castra stativa*), living ramparts against which the wild waves of the invasion long swept in vain.

Flotillas were attached to the legions of the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates, and four fleets, at Ravenna, Frejus, Misenum and in the Euxine, kept order on the seas, a thing which the senate had never done with regularity. Then was seen the strange spectacle of an Empire of 60,000,000 souls armed only on its frontiers, and ruled in the interior without a single soldier;[2] a wonder which was no doubt due in a great measure to the impossibility of a successful revolt, but also, and especially, to

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5, and Dion, lv. 23. They each contained about 6,000 foot and a small number of horse, which rose at length, in the time of Vegetius (*de Re mil.*, ii. 6), to 7,260, with an almost equal number of auxiliaries (*cohortes auxiliariæ*), who retained their national dress and arms. (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 89.) The pay of a legionary was ten *ases* (five-eighths of a denarius) a day, or 225 denarii a year: *denis in diem assibus animam et corpus æstimari; hinc, vestem, arma, tentoria redimi.* The State, then, only provided wheat free of cost. The prætorians (9,000 foot and some horse), who received double (Dion, liii. 11), and whose pay was raised by Tiberius to 720 denarii, were recruited, like the urban cohorts, in Italy (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5); the legions were drawn from the provinces and often from amongst the soldiers of the auxiliary cohorts, who by legionary service won the right of citizenship. Besides the cohorts formed of provincials, there were thirty-two of volunteers (*coh. ital civ. rom. voluntar.*), either Italians or Roman citizens settled in the provinces who preferred to live on military pay rather than by work. The ancient method of recruiting, *legere milites*, still continued, for Tiberius was ordered to visit the slave factories of Italy in order to find those who were hiding there, *sacramenti metu.* (Suet., *Tib.*, 8); but recourse was rarely had to it, for to keep the twenty-five legions up to full strength very few soldiers were needed each year, and a great number of volunteers was always forthcoming. (See in the *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, § 10, and below, chapter lxx.) The legion was commanded by a *legatus*, an ex-prætor, who had under his orders ten tribunes, heads of the ten cohorts of the legion, the *præfectus castrorum*, a kind of chief of the staff, who came next after the tribunes, and the *præfectus equitum.* The cohort was divided into six centuries, each commanded by a centurion; the cavalry into twenty-two *turmæ*, under a decurion. Besides the legions and their auxiliaries stationed along the frontiers, some native corps were left in certain localities. Thus the Helvetii guarded one fortress of their country with their own soldiers; the Ræti had a militia in their province (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 67, 68); a cohort of Ligures kept watch over the country round Frejus, *vetus loci auxilium* (Tac., *ibid.*, ii. 14), etc. But these were only unimportant exceptions.

[2] [Nearly the same thing may now be seen in the great Republic of the United States, except that its frontier enemies are quite insignificant.—*Ed.*]

the gratitude of its subjects towards a government which at first exercised only a high and salutary protection, without any annoying intervention in the administration of local interests.

These soldiers (after 5 A.D.) had to serve twenty years in the legions, sixteen in the guards. The State took the best part of their life; accordingly, the prince promised not to abandon those who should merit the *honesta missio*.[1] To reward discharged soldiers was an old Republican custom; the innumerable colonies

Sacrifice in honour of Cæsar and Augustus at Ravenna (Ecole des Beaux-Arts).

formerly founded by the senate had been of that character, and we have seen what evils the application of the principle had brought upon Italy. Augustus, unwilling that such commotions should again take place, substituted money for land; he gave the veterans of the legions 3,000 denarii, and those of the prætorian cohorts 5,000.

In deciding to keep a standing army and allot salaries to the State officials, and in accepting the duty of making military roads

[1] Dion, lv. 23. Augustus had not at first dared to impose so long a term of service; in the year 13 B.C. a regulation had only required sixteen years of the legionaries and twelve of the prætorians. (*Id.*, liv. 25.)

through the provinces, and helping the towns in works of public utility, Augustus was necessarily deciding upon an increase of taxation,[1] since revenues would be needed for new expenses. There were certainly some remnants of the *agri publici* left; the incomes from the mines and quarries; the customs-dues of the provinces, which amounted to one-eighth of the value of objects of luxury and one-fortieth on the other articles; one-twentieth on manumissions, and above all the former tribute of the provinces, the tithes, the property-tax, and the poll or personal tax.[2] But all this was not enough; instead of overweighting the provincials, Augustus boldly asked the citizens for the funds he needed; and in this act is manifested the true character of the Empire which was at first a government of reparation and justice. The Republic, making the whole world subservient to the advantage of Rome, had exempted the citizens from taxation; Cæsar restored the custom-houses in Italy, and Augustus brought in financial measures which were very nearly equivalent, as regards the Italians, to the re-establishment of the ancient *tributum ex censu.* He laid a duty of one per cent. upon all articles, movable goods or fixtures, whether sold in the markets or by auction, even at Rome, and in the Italian peninsula.[3] On sales of slaves the duty was two per cent.[4] Six years after the commencement of our era, he created the tax of a twentieth payable by *cives* who, without being heirs by kindred, received an inheritance or legacy exceeding the value of 100,000 sesterces.[5]

This arrangement, which respected the rights of nature and of poverty, was just in its principles and excellent in its effects, for it placed impediments in the way of an unwholesome industry. At Rome many wealthy men avoided marriage and lived surrounded by a crowd among which might sometimes be seen prætors and consulares, who, in order to get themselves remembered in a will,

[1] See in vol. ii. p. 182 *sqq.*

[2] M. L. Renier (*Inscr. de Colonia Julia Zaraï*) thinks that in Africa the entrance-dues were not so high. Marquardt (*Handbuch,* vol. ii. p. 267 *sqq.*) gives a certain number of these different tariffs.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 78: *Centesimam rerum venalium.* (Cf. Suet., *Calig.*, 16.)

[4] Dion, lv. 31. This duty afterwards rose to 4 per cent. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 31.)

[5] Dion, lv. 35; Suet., *Octav.*, 49; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42; Pliny, *Panegyr.*, 37. Our less humane legislation imposes the same dues on the inheritance of the poor as on that of the rich.

paid assiduous court to some morose old man. It was well that the law should reach these vultures, as Martial calls them, and that the State should intervene between the inheritance and these strangers, and take a portion of their illegitimate gains to be used in the public interest. The frequency of such legacies and testamentary succession rendered the State's share a very considerable one. It is not improbable that, thanks to this tax and to Roman manners, all the property of the citizens passed through the treasury in a few generations. Thus the *vicesima hereditatum et legatorum* became the principal source from which the *ærarium militare* was replenished.

It is impossible to arrive at even an approximate valuation of the revenues of the Empire; perhaps they amounted from £12,000,000 to £16,000,000.[1] This was a very small budget, but as all communal and provincial expenditure was borne by towns and provinces, the Empire had only to pay for an administration which was still very simple, and not a very numerous army.[2] Thus Tiberius found means to amass more than £16,000,000 or £20,000,000.[3]

In civil courts there still existed the ancient distinction between instance *in jure* before the magistrate who drew up the legal formula applicable to the case, and instance *in judicio*, where the point of fact was decided upon by the centumvirs, the *recuperatores*,[4] the judge whom the magistrate had deputed, or the arbitrator

[1] This amount even will appear exaggerated if we call to mind that in 61 Pompey declared that by his conquests he had raised the public revenue from 50,000,000 to 85,000,000 denarii. (See above, p. 48, note 1.) In chapter lxvii., § 2, we shall speak of the different funds among which all these revenues were divided.

[2] The embellishments of Rome were generally made by private individuals, and the wheat, which was sold at a low price to the people, was furnished by the corn-producing provinces.

[3] Suetonius (*Calig.*, 37) says 2,700,000,000 sesterces, and Dion (lix. 2) 2,300,000,000.

[4] The origin of the *recuperatores* is obscure. They seem to have had the charge of suits in which the parties were of different stations, as citizens and peregrini, patrons and freedmen, etc. (Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 46), or of those which required a prompt decision. They were proposed by the parties, who had a reciprocal right of challenge. Civil affairs, those which concerned *quiritary property* and questions bearing thereupon, *wardships, successions, testaments,* etc., were decided by the centumvirs, 120 judges chosen by lot for each affair from among the 4,000 senators, knights, and ducenaries annually inscribed in the *album judicum*. The centumvirs were divided into four sections, each of forty-five members, convoked by the *decemviri stlitibus judicandis*. On the importance of the questions brought before the court of centumvirs, see Cicero. (*de Orat.*, i. 38.) Under the Empire judicial eloquence took refuge there. (Pliny, *Epist., passim.*) The number of 4,000 jurors is given by Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 7.)

Prætorian Guards (from a bas-relief in the Louvre).

whom both parties had accepted. In the first centuries of the Empire, then, the Romans retained a course of civil proceedings, which in certain points recalls our modern juries. But instances *extra ordinem*, that is, in which the magistrate, freed from the ancient rules, himself conducted the inquiry, and pronounced the sentence, grew so numerous as to invade all suits. Diocletian made this exceptional form a general rule, and competency ceased to be determined by the nature of the interests to be decided upon.

In criminal proceedings the judicial organization underwent serious changes. A share of the civil and criminal jurisdiction was assigned to the three prefects of the *vigiles*, the *annona*, and the city;[1] to the senate the cognizance of crimes committed by its members, by public functionaries, or persons of consideration in the State; and to the emperor the right of deciding in all serious cases brought before him on appeal or reserved by him.[2] Accordingly the *quæstiones perpetuæ* by degrees fell into desuetude, and criminal justice, instead of being administered by jury, that institution of free States, was dealt out by the agents and instruments of the prince. Thus when tyranny made its appearance, it found hateful instruments ready which enabled it to conceal its vengeance beneath the mask of law.

To sum up, behind the official government, wholly Republican in form, which sat in grave and idle state in its curule chairs,[3] was the real governor,[4] scarcely ever visible in the Curia or Forum, but who noiselessly and without display, carried on all the business of the Empire.

The prætorians and a guard of German and Batavian horse secured his inviolability; the prefect of the city watched on his behalf over the maintenance of order in Rome, with the 4,500 men of the three urban cohorts, having a care that the *præfectus annonæ* should keep the public granaries always filled, and that the *præfectus vigilum* maintained security in the streets. Though prætors annually chosen by lot administered the public treasury (*ærarium*) in the name of the State, the prince made the senate

[1] See above, p. 716, note 1.

[2] The emperor judged with the assistance of a council, or sent the affair either to the senate or to a *judex* (Pliny, *Epist.*, vii. 6), and afterwards to the prefects of the *prætorium*.

[3] The senate had only twenty regular sittings every year. (Dion, lv. 27.)

[4] Appian (*Præf.*, 6) says of the emperors from Cæsar onwards: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἔργῳ πάντα βασιλεῖς.

open it to him; so that the army, justice, religion, the law, the finances, the officials, all the resources, and all the living forces of the Empire were in his hands.

He had constituted himself the soul of that great body, that he might regulate all its movements according to his will; and in order to bind the whole Empire by the religion of the oath, every year on the first of January, the senate, the people, the legions, and the provincials swore fidelity to him.

This was the government. Let us see how it worked.

[1] Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 190 in the Catalogue.

Augustus crowned with Oak and Olive.[1]

CHAPTER LXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS AT ROME AND IN ITALY.

I.—Classification of the Population.

BY a kind of monarchical instinct, which in the mind of Constantine was to become a settled principle of social organization, Augustus tried to introduce divisions and ranks into the State, in order to restore subordination and discipline. He saw that the man who stood alone above all had to fear from all, and therefore in order to guard the approaches to power, he placed between himself and the multitude a host of men arranged in gradations in such a manner that this hierarchy, pressing with all its weight upon the masses beneath, kept the populace and agitators quiet.

What remained of the old patrician nobility held the first rank in the city, with the privilege of exclusively filling certain religious offices; below them came the senatorial nobility, half hereditary; still lower the monied nobility or the equestrian order: three aristocracies one above another.

The senate consisted, firstly, of 600 titulary senators, whose names had been inscribed on the yearly official list; secondly, of the twenty quæstors annually in office, to whom their position opened the Curia, and the ex-quæstors who had not yet become titular, by replacing deceased senators.[1] The titular alone were really senators: the others were called, "those who are authorized to speak before the senate," *quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licet.* We see that Augustus took into the high assembly the prospective

[1] Velleius Paterculus says: *Designatus quæstor, necdum senator æquatus senatoribus.* (ii. 111.) Augustus must have made a *lex annalis*, such as the Republic had had. Dion, says Mæcenas, proposed it to him (lii. 20), and we know that a man only attained the quæstorship at twenty-five and the prætorship at thirty. (Cf. Capitolinus, *Marc Anton.*, 5.)

great officials of the Empire, in order to animate the whole administration with one spirit. Even among the titular senators there existed old distinctions, indeed; a man's seat was determined by the office he had held. These were various degrees of nobility, as it were; a prætorian was not the equal of a consularis, and those who had only received the insignia ranked below the men who had exercised the charges themselves. We know, too, that to enter the Curia it was necessary to possess the senatorial census, and that no mutilated person was admitted;[1] an arrangement which would be very strange amongst a nation of soldiers, had it not been inspired by a religious idea which has passed into the discipline of the Catholic clergy.[2]

The sons of senators formed an intermediate class between the senatorial and equestrian orders. They shared in some of the honorary prerogatives of their fathers; from the age of seventeen they wore the laticlave and the black buskin, were present at the sittings of the senate,[3] and when their term of military service was completed, obtained one of the offices of the vigintivirate at Rome.[4] These duties initiated them into public affairs, and facilitated the obtaining of the quæstorship, and so to the senate.[5] There existed, then, with respect to this body, a sort of hereditary right not unlike what Augustus proposed himself in connection with the supreme power; neither of them openly avowed, but pointed out as a necessary condition of stability.[6] In the second

[1] Dion, liv. 26: . . . . χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἀνάπηρος ἦν.

[2] [Has it not rather come to us from the Mosaic Law?—*Ed.*]

[3] Suet., *Octav.*, 38. See in the *Digest* (i. 9) how much the jurisconsulti occupied themselves about them; they even continued the title and privileges of a senator's son to the child conceived before his father's expulsion from the senate. (*Ibid.*, Ulp., 7; *ad legem Juliam et Papiam.*)

[4] *Triumviri capitales, triumviri monetales, quattuorviri viarum curandarum* and *decemviri stlitibus judicandis.* It was necessary to be at least twenty-two years of age to attain it. (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 83.)

[5] Claudius thus regulated the military promotion of knights: *cohors, ala, tribunatus legionis.* (Suet., *Claud.*, 25.) A cohort, which numbered 600 men, corresponded nearly to one of our battalions. The knights, therefore, started with a very considerable command, but this command was often rather nominal than real. At the age of twenty-five these *tribuni militum honores petituri*, as Pliny calls them (*Epist.*, vi. 31), solicited the quæstorship (Orelli, No. 3714; *quæstor designatus annorum* xxiiii.), then the ædileship and tribuneship, and at thirty the prætorship, whence it may be inferred that the offices of the vigintivirate were not so much a magistracy, *honos*, as what is called in the *Digest* (l. 16, 239, § 3) a *munus*, or personal obligation. Upon the vigintivirate, see Dion (liv. 26) and L. Renier. (*Mél. d'Épigr.*, p. 203–214.)

[6] Below them came the former senators, who for some reason or another had quitted the senate. (Dion, liv. 14.)

century the senatorial families came to form an hereditary nobility, *ordo senatorum*;[1] from this time forward the Conscript Fathers, their wives and children, were withdrawn from the dominion of ordinary justice and were only subject to the jurisdiction of the senate.[2]

One privilege accorded to the sons of senators had serious consequences. As they attained the legionary tribunate and the prefecture of cavalry merely by right of rank, promotion by birth often replaced promotion for service, and the evil at length became so great that Hadrian, one of the restorers of Roman discipline, was obliged to declare that he would appoint no more beardless tribunes: *nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret.* Moreover as it would have been imprudent to let these beardless youths fulfil the duties of their office, it was necessary to associate old centurions with them: these doing all the real duty, *tribuni minores*; the former having all the honours, *tribuni majores*.[3] The Roman legions then suffered from the evil which made havoc with modern armies in the last century, when a child in its cradle received a colonel's epaulets, and officers of good birth barred the way against officers of fortune.

Young Roman in toga (Villa Albani).

Augustus established distinctions in the equestrian order.

[1] Tacitus already speaks of consular families (*Ann.*, vi. 49; xiii. 12), and Philostratus likewise. (*Vita Apoll.*, iv. 45.)

[2] Dion, lii. 31, 32; Suet., *Calig.*, 2; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 44; Pliny, *Epist.*, ix. 13.

[3] *Tribunus major per epistolam sacram imperatoris judicio destinatur, minor tribunus provenit ex labore.* (Vegetius, ii. 7.) This author belonged to the fourth century, but the evil had its origin in the institutions of the first emperor, and we have just seen that Hadrian affirmed it a century after Augustus.

Knights of noble origin and who had the senatorial census formed a separate class, that of the *illustres*, which was the nursery, as it were, for the senate. When that assembly did not provide candidates for the plebeian tribunate, they were taken from amongst the *illustres*. The prefecture of the prætorium and that of Egypt, and the control of several provinces, were reserved for them, as well as the superintendence of provisions, the command of the nightwatch, the higher ranks in the army, and almost all

Caius. Lucius.

The Grandsons of Augustus.[1]

the newly created posts, which enriched a man, whereas the senatorial offices ruined him. The latter compelled him to give games and festivals; the former ensured a salary of one, two, or four hundred thousand sesterces. Finally, at the head of the knights were the grandsons of Augustus, the *princes of the Roman youth*, and in their ranks the dearest friends of the emperor, Mæcenas and Sallust. In the army they no longer formed the cavalry of the legions, which was principally furnished by the allies; but the six companies of horse guards, *equites equo publico*, were kept at Rome for solemn occasions; the emperor reviewed

[1] Caius and Lucius Cæsar. (From two cameos in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 204 and 205 in the Catalogue.)

them every year and placed in them the most distinguished of the young nobility. This honour of "the public horse" was afterwards bestowed even upon children,[1] and those who possessed it had seats at the theatre in a different place apart from the other knights, *cuneus juniorum*. As for the crowd of monied men, the veteran who obtained the gold ring as a reward for his services, the provincial whom the emperor created knight and who came and settled at Rome, these took charge of the civil courts, which employed four thousand judges or jurors.

Thus the senators deliberated upon great public affairs; the principal knights undertook almost the whole administration of the Empire; and these formed the twofold aristocracy upon which Augustus rested his power in the interior; an aristocracy, not of birth, in spite of some appearances of hereditary descent, but of money, for in order to enter the senate or the equestrian order, or to obtain an office, a settled and considerable fortune was necessary;[2] an aristocracy which he augmented at will, for as our kings granted letters of nobility, so he sent the decorations of consul, prætor, tribune or quæstor to citizens who had not held these offices, or gave the gold ring to men whom he wished to raise to the rank of knights.[3]

At official receptions the senators had the privilege of embracing the emperor; the prince contented himself with saluting the *illustrious* knights by name when he wished to be gracious to them.

After the knights came the burghers of Rome, who held a place midway between the equestrian order and the *plebs urbana*. The privilege of furnishing a fourth decuria of judges, that of the *ducenarii*,[4] and the thousand posts of local inspectors which he

[1] We find in inscriptions *equites equo publico* who died at the age of sixteen and even five. (Cf. Orelli, 305(?)-3, and L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.*, 1825-26.)

[2] Dion, liv. 17. Men were sometimes mistaken about their fortunes or found the office too great a burden, for I see that in the year 19 an ædile resigned his office on account of poverty. (*Id.*, liv. 10.)

[3] *Insignia consularia*, etc., or *inter consulares, prætorios . . . . referre*. Cæsar had already done so. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76; Dion, xliii. 47.) He likewise bestowed the *triumphalia ornamenta*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 38.)

[4] Possessing 200,000 sesterces. This fourth class of judges was organized in the year 17 B.C., and judged *de levioribus summis*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 32.) They had the right to wear an iron ring (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 7); a paltry distinction, indeed, but one which flattered because it gave rank.

reserved for them,[1] constituted them a distinct class. I imagine they were few in number, however, for they must have had a tendency to rise higher and obtain the gold ring, or else sink lower and share with the proletaries the monthly gratuities.

When Cæsar took a census of those who were fed at the expense of the treasury, he found they numbered three hundred and twenty thousand; he struck off one half, and for the remainder ordered that every year the prætor should replace deceased pensioners by lot from among the poor not yet inscribed on the list.[2]

Nymph of Diana found in the Gardens of Sallust.

The disorders which followed his death and the increase of want raised the number to the original amount, and it was only in the second half of his reign that Augustus dared to lower it again to about two hundred thousand.[3] His colonies in Italy and the provinces facilitated this reduction; in order to render it lasting, he encouraged work, strove against the selfish fashion of setting slaves free, and showed himself very grudging of the rights of citizenship. Thus we see, then, that beneath the real Roman society there were two hundred thousand

[1] There were 265 quarters (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 9), and four or five inspectors for each quarter, chosen annually doubtless by the *curator regionis* from amongst the inhabitants, *e plebe cujusque viciniæ electi.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 30.) Augustus granted them the right of wearing on certain days the *prætexta*, and of having two *viatores.* (Dion, lv. 8.) In his will Tiberius left them a special legacy. (Suet., *Tiber.*, 76.)

[2] Dion, xliii. 21; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41.

[3] In the year 2 B.C. Three years previously the poor still numbered 320,000. (Dion, lv. 10.)

[salaried] beggars [not to speak of applicants for the dole], a formidable threat to the public peace. But being rid of its demagogue tribunes and held in check by the prætorians of the *imperator*, the *plebs urbana* confined itself to begging and made no more disturbances.

Augustus had kept up the ancient republican offices; in reality, as titles which served to classify men. In order that this classification might be a strict one, he revived the ancient precedents concerning the hierarchy of magistracies, and consecrated them by the very exceptions which he granted.[1] When he demanded a solemn senatus-consultum granting his grandson a dispensation from the *lex annalis*, no man would be so bold as to dare to exempt himself from it. Everywhere and in everything his administration tended to multiply the differences of social condition, either of persons or of cities and countries. For instance, he divided Rome into fourteen districts, and these districts, by their administrations and by the prerogatives of their inhabitants,[2] were placed above the *suburban* districts, and these in turn were more favoured than the rest of Italy,[3] which again was looked upon by provincials as a privileged land.

Even in the right of citizenship Octavius made differences: the new man did not hold the freedom of the city by the same title as the man who was born to it,[4] and the provincial who

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 29. Numerous inscriptions give in the clearest manner the law of advancement in public offices, *cursus honorum*. For no person forgot to have the record of his services engraved on his tomb, in the order in which his functions had succeeded each other. In order to exclude from high offices those who were not very rich, he added to the obligations imposed by Sylla on the prætors that of giving the games which the ædiles formerly celebrated. The consuls, and under Claudius the quæstors, were also compelled to furnish the people with games. (Dion, lix. 14; lx. 27; Suet., *Claud.*, 4; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22.)

[2] It was necessary to reside at Rome in order to obtain an office; distributions were only made to the *plebs urbana*. Rome paid less dearly for salt than the rest of Italy. (Livy, xxix. 37.)

[3] All the region within 100 miles of Rome was placed under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the city and was exempt from the payment in kind imposed upon the rest of Italy. (Godefroy, book ix., *Cod. Theod. de Annona*, ii. 1, and Savigny, *Steurverf.*, p. 22.) Certain freedmen could not settle in the *suburbican* district. (Suet., *Octav.*, 40, and Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 27: *Si contra fecerint ipsi bonaque eorum publice venire jubentur.*) "He did not make Italy quite equal to Rome," said Suetonius. (*Octav.*, 46.) The *lex Papia Poppæa* furnished a new proof of this inequality. The *jus trium liberorum* was allowed in Rome to him who had three children; to obtain it in Italy it was necessary to have four; in the provinces, five. The prohibition contained in the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, forbidding the husband to alienate the *prædium dotale*, only applied to Italian property. (*Inst.*, II. viii., *procem.*)

[4] With respect to wills, for instance. The foreigner who had not obtained the *jus cognationis* as well as the *jus civitatis* paid a tax of one-twentieth even when he inherited from his father. This distinction was only abolished by Nerva and Trajan. (Pliny, *Paneg.*, 37.)

was decorated with the toga was neither in right nor dignity the equal of the Quirite of Rome. Hitherto there had been several steps to mount in reaching the *jus civitatis;* Augustus added a fresh one: no Egyptian could become a citizen of Rome without previously being a citizen of Alexandria.[1] Add to this the great and permanent distinction which he established between Quirites and soldiers, of whom he made two separate peoples, that he might make use of the one to control the other.

Thus from the lowest ranks of the masses to the very top the classes were clearly defined; nor were they less so among the provincials, from the *dedititius* to the *civis*, and even lower still, from servitude to freedom. There was the slave whom manumission before a magistrate made eligible for the citizenship; the slave who could only obtain the new *Latinity* created by the law *Junia Norbana;* and lastly the slave who was forbidden to come within a hundred miles of Rome and whom Gaius places in the lowest stage of freedom.[2] "Not satisfied," says Suetonius, "with having raised a vast number of obstacles between slavery and mere liberty, and placed a still greater number between slavery and the enjoyment of political rights, he had regulated the conditions, the differences and the number of manumissions."[3]

It was at the theatre that the Roman people was best to be seen; there it was with its pontiffs, its vestals and its senate. Before the time of Augustus the greatest confusion reigned there, all sat down wherever they could;[4] but he introduced order, *ordinavit:* that is the leading idea of his whole reign. In the front row sat the magistrates, then the senators and their sons; behind these were the fourteen benches of the knights. The people were separated from the soldiers; the married plebeians

[1] Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 4, 5, 22.

[2] *Pessima libertas.* (*Inst.*, i. 68.) He could never become a Roman or Latin citizen. The law *Ælia Sentia* passed in the year 4 B.C. (Dion, lv. 13), relegated him to the rank of the *peregrini dedititii.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 13–15.) The *Latini Juniani* (law of the year 19 B.C.) merely enjoyed liberty; accordingly on their death they were considered as having never issued from slavery, and their old master resumed his rights over their property. (Gaius, *ibid.*, and the *Inst.*, i. 5, 3.)

[3] The law *Furia Caninia* (8 A.D.) limited the number of testamentary freedmen, and the law *Ælia Sentia* forbade a master of less than twenty years of age to liberate a slave, *præter quam si causam apud consilium probaverit.* (Ulp., i. 13.)

[4] *Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 44.)

from the unmarried. Women had a place set apart and the ragged proletaries were relegated to the worst places.

Dress marked a man's rank; Augustus strictly maintained the differences. He forbade the Greek mantle and drove out of the Forum those who had not the toga, for as his poet-laureate said: "It is by the toga that the royal nation is recognized." Horace is right in two senses: the toga was the sign of national sovereignty, and by its amplitude and the elegance of its folds it was one of the most majestic garments that man has ever worn, especially when the purple border contrasted with its pure whiteness. Seen on the cold figures which that nation has left us of itself, it contributes to maintain the fame of Roman gravity.[1] But strip it off the shoulders of the crowd which encumbered the Rome of Augustus, and you would find a vain and pitiful society in which each sought eagerly after some distinction, or set his pride upon obtaining something glittering, or at least something which ranked apart.

These tendencies became evident even in the penal law. The Twelve Tables awarded the same punishment for the same offences, whoever the guilty party might be, provided he was a citizen;[2] the new legislation separated the great from the small, those whom, even while it struck at them, it called honourable men, *honesti*, from those whom it only mentioned with disdain, *humiles*, men of no account; and it fixed two categories of punishments, the most rigorous for the poor. We do not know at what period this insulting distinction was established, but it was the inevitable outcome of the state of society whose laws and traditions acknowledged the higher origin of the patrician, the absolute power of the father of a family in his household, the unlimited authority of a master over his slaves, the strict rights of a patron over his freedmen, and which consequently could never have known equality. Such an organization of city and family left the poor man no place save in the clientship of the arrogant rich whom Martial calls kings; and Cicero and Sallust are only expressing the thoughts of these latter when they speak of "the starveling crowd, depraved in manners, inflated in hopes, and whose inmost

[1] We have given many specimens in these volumes, *e.g.* ii. 292.

[2] Livy still said: *Lex est surda, inexorabilis . . . . nec causis nec personis variat.*

thoughts are envy." The ancient political law expelled the *ærarii* from the *comitium* and the army; the new one placed them in an inferior position judicially. Augustus determined the classes whose testimony should not be accepted in a court of justice,[1] and one of his jurisconsults Labeo declared that it was not lawful for a *humilis* to bear witness against an *honestior;* we have seen how the triumvirs began that legislation which decreed different punishments for the same offence, according to the social position of the guilty party.[2] In the paintings of the little commonplace city of Pompeii, many grotesque scenes occur, for there were ancestors of Pulcinello dwelling there who loved a coarse kind of pleasantry; but not one representation of popular life is found, for they despised it.

The language, which had hitherto been severe in its sober elegance, became overloaded and turgid. The oriental emphasis which for two centuries past had been spoiling the tongue of Demosthenes and Plato, soon began to act upon that of Cicero and Virgil. Common words no longer sufficed; the senators assumed or received the qualification of *Most Eminent;*[3] the members of the equestrian order became the *Right Honourable;* and their service in the army was called *the distinguished service.* Soon, with the progress of servility, everything became *Right Reverend*, even in the palace of the obscene Cæsars. Some laughed at all this; Augustus even heard the favourite of Mæcenas scoff at these classifications which were made by fortune, not merit. But the Romans accepted them, and the use of exaggerated superlatives has passed to their descendants: from the Alps to the Channel of Malta *Eccellenza* has long reigned.

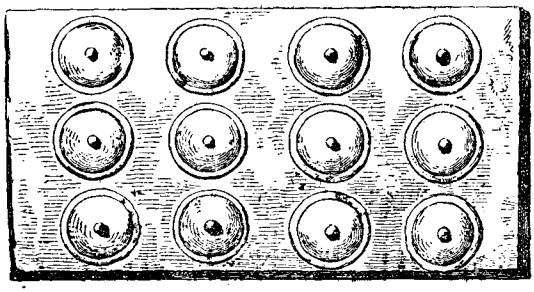
[1] *Digest,* xxii. 5, 3, § 5.

[2] See my paper on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores* in the collection of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.,* vol. xxix. part i.

[3] *Clarissimus.* We find this title already used under Claudius. (Cf. Orelli, No. 3115.) It was applied to the wives and children of senators. (*Id.,* 3764; Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.,* 1825, 1827, etc.)

II.—Means employed for ensuring Order and Comfort.

This people, outwardly so carefully classed, still required corn to feed it, games to amuse it, and an active police to keep watch in its stead against the Tiber and robbers, fire and plague, and all the ills to which its carelessness left it so greatly exposed. Augustus took care not to leave these requirements unsupplied. Accordingly his great business in Rome, after strengthening his power, was to guarantee the means of subsistence for the immense population which encumbered the city. He would willingly have avoided doing so, and have sent this inconvenient crowd out into the country; but the distributions were a legacy of the Republic: and we have seen that an idea of right attached to them which the Gracchi and even Cato had recognized and Cæsar respected. Augustus made the *frumentationes* an imperial institution under the direction of the *præfectus annonæ*, who tried all cases, civil or criminal, relating to trade in grain. At first all, rich and poor alike, had been admitted to the enjoyment of an advantage won by all. Later on the senators and knights had been excluded; Augustus drew up the frumentary law settling the quantity of wheat to be supplied by the provinces for the consumption of the palace, the soldiers and the citizens settled in Rome (*annona militaris* and *annona civica*); two hundred thousand out of a population doubtless exceeding one million five hundred thousand



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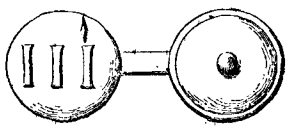
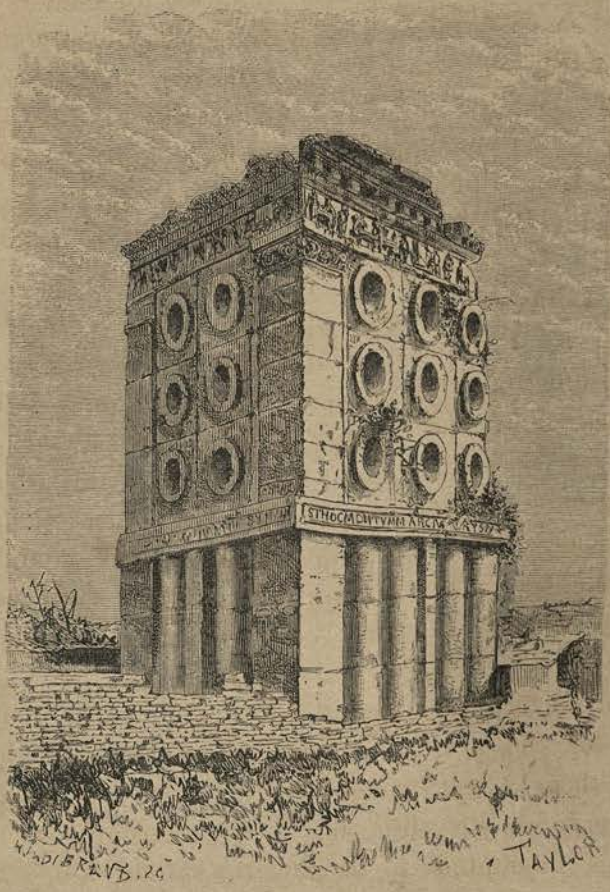


No. 2.

Frumentary Tesseræ or checks for bread.[1]

[1] From two specimens found in the excavations; No. 1, a tessera of older pattern, a tablet upon which is stamped the number of measures to be received; No. 2, a tessera of more recent date, a hollow ball with the quantity obtained written upon it. Upon the *frumentationes*, see vol. ii. p. 425.

souls.[1] The *annona* was now only a relief granted to necessitous persons and all those who, without being actually in want, were far from well-off. The quantity of wheat given, a bushel and a half a month, that is to say, scarcely the ration assigned to a slave or a prisoner, was not sufficient to support a family.[2] As this assistance did not free those who received it from the necessity of seeking other means of support, it cannot be said that, thanks to the *annona*, a whole people lived without doing anything.



Tomb of the baker Eurysaces.[3]

This wheat cost the State nothing, since it was furnished by the frumentary provinces, which were obliged to forward the grain to the ports of embarkation. Thence the vessels of the maritime cities transported it to Rome,[4] so that the treasury had nothing to

[1] In the year 5 of our era a gratuity of sixty denarii each was given to 320,000 men of the plebs. Many plebeians then were not included in the usual distributions.

[2] The *modius* being equivalent to 1 gallon, 7·36 pints; 5 *modii* = 1 bushel, 1 gallon, 4·8 pints, which gave about 92 lbs. of bread; owing to the imperfections of the processes of grinding and bread making, the wheat scarcely yielded its weight in bread (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 120), whereas with us 100 lbs. of flour give at least 130 lbs. of bread. Now with 92 lbs. of bread a family could not be supported, and Dion is right in saying (lv. 26); Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν.

[3] Tomb of the baker Eurysaces, found in 1838 during the demolition of a tower in Rome, with an inscription which seems to belong to the time of Augustus. The tomb is made of old kneading-troughs. (Orelli, No. 7267, and *Annales de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1838, p. 231.)

[4] Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 14. Thus the Jews were obliged to carry to Sidon the fourth part of the crops. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 109, 6; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 51.)

pay but the cost of storage and keeping in the granaries of the city. Though it was said that taxation in kind was in the case of the frumentary provinces less heavy than the taxation in money,[1] which but for it, would have been increased by the sum represented by the wheat furnished, it must be allowed that these distributions caused the State an annual expenditure of thirty-three shillings for each person, or £360,000 in all.[2] With every reason we do the same thing under better forms and in larger proportions. At Paris in 1876 the *bureaux de bienfaisance* succoured 114,000 persons, who received on an average, 51 francs 11 centimes each; and 180,000 other citizens, or a number almost equal to that of the persons inscribed on the list of the *annona*, earning less than four hundred francs, were exempted from the payment of the personal dues and those on movable property, which the city paid for them, without the character of the individuals being taken into consideration at Paris any more than at Rome. Official assistance costs thrice as much in our capital as it cost in the capital of the Empire;[3] but what with us bears the fine name of charity is called corruption when Rome is in question.

In times of famine Augustus doubled the ration; often, indeed, he arranged surprises for the people. In his eleventh consulship he twelve times gave them wheat bought at his own cost; and at each important event of his life, he made distributions of money which sometimes amounted to as much as four hundred sesterces a head, and the sum total to £5,320,000. His edicts had forbidden candidates to scatter money amongst the tribes;[4] from this it was concluded that he had reserved to himself the

[1] The value of the wheat delivered by Egypt was about 2,500 talents.

[2] According to the *Verrine Orations* (iii. 75) the *modius*, which in commerce was worth one denarius (Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. polit.*, vol. i. p. 108), only cost the State three sesterces. As each person on the lists received sixty every year, the annual expense was 180 sesterces, or £1 13s. for each recipient, one sesterce, $\frac{1}{100}$ of the aureus, being equal to 2½d. (Levasseur, *De la Valeur des Monnaies romaines*, p. 28 and 29), which makes the total expenditure $33 \times 200{,}000 = 6{,}600{,}000$s. = £360,000. It would be £480,000 if, allowing for the cost of warehousing, we accept the trade price for the State corn, four sesterces instead of three.

[3] In 1873 the *Assistance publique* in Paris expended 12,420,000 francs out of its own revenues, and it received from the city a subvention of 14,474,977 francs; the city also paid the treasury 4,520,370 francs in redemption of the 180,000 dues on persons and movables.

[4] Dion, liv. 13-17. The penalty incurred by such canvassing was exclusion from all magistracies for five years.

right of bribing the whole Roman people. In that case it must be confessed that the people did not value themselves at a very high price: less than ten shillings each per annum.[1] One day after a gladiatorial display they yielded to him who had given it the privilege of electing one of the prætors every year.[2] This was still better than selling their birthright for a mess of pottage.

Augustus crowned with Wheat.[3]

What declamations men would spare themselves if they were better acquainted with the state of ancient society, wherein these liberalities, which were of common occurrence, were an honour to those who bestowed and those who received. In former times the patron had been under obligations to secure his client a piece of ground; now he secured him a piece of bread, the *sportula*. Every morning the poor man came to the door of a noble or wealthy house and held out his provision-basket and his hand; into the one the distributing slave disdainfully dropped the remnants of the feast, and into the other some small coin. Augustus, having become the universal patron, owed the Roman people the *sportula* and gave it.

[1] According to the *Monum. Ancyr.* (No. 15) he distributed among the inhabitants of Rome in ready money 375,000,000 sesterces and 31,200,000 denarii, or 500,000,000 sesterces, which make a sum of £4,000,000. The average number of recipients was about 250,000, which makes a sum of £25 received by each citizen in forty-four years, or 10s. a year.

[2] Dion, li. 23.

[3] As a member of the college of *Fratres Arvales*, and in memory of his care in securing the means of subsistence to the people. (Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, Hall of Busts, No. 281.)

In this society the rich had also the duty of amusing the poor; the nobles had never failed to do so; Augustus followed their example. The spectacles were of two kinds: the *ludi* or scenic representations and races in the circus, which recurred on fixed days; and the *munera*, or combats either of gladiators or wild beasts. He regulated the cost and number of those given by magistrates and private individuals; but he himself gave many. "I have made 10,000 gladiators fight in the arena," he says in his will, "and I have caused 3,500 wild beasts to be hunted there." In a single one of these hunts 260 lions were slain. On another occasion he caused a broad canal to be dug along the Tiber, and thirty galleys, of three or four banks of oars, with a greater number of small vessels, divided into two fleets, and manned by 3,000 men, not counting the sailors, furnished the multitude with the representation of a naval combat.

M. V. Agrippa.[1]

Treating the people like a great child, whom it was necessary at any price to divert, he had curiosities sent from all parts of the Empire, a rhinoceros, a snake fifty cubits long, or a monstrous tiger. Thirty-six crocodiles came from Egypt all at once, and he made the Flaminian circus into a lake for them. "Even when it was not a festival day," says his biographer, "if anything reached him which had not yet been seen at Rome, he caused it to be at once shown in all parts of the city." During Agrippa's ædileship, in the year 38, the games had lasted two whole months,[2] and Varro exclaims: "At Rome life is nothing but a surfeit of pleasure every day."[3]

[1] From the Capitol, Hall of Philosophers, No. 16.

[2] Fifty-nine days, probably taken from the whole year. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 7.)

[3] *De Re rust.*, iii. 2.

The people did not understand any contempt of their pleasures, they liked their leaders to take part in their amusements. Cæsar had nearly lost his popularity through occupying himself with business during the performance. Augustus carefully avoided committing the like error. He remained whole days at the games. If any public necessity obliged him to absent himself, he asked permission,[1] and appointed someone to take his place.

He protected actors, deprived the magistrates of the right of causing them to be beaten with rods, and interested himself in the quarrels of the mimes. "It is to your interest, Cæsar," said Pylades to him, "that the people should occupy themselves with Bathyllus and me."[2] Augustus did not need the advice of the mime to make him leave the Roman people those circus passions and that liberty in theatrical matters which alone it never lost. Rather would he have excited them still more, "for," says Suetonius, "all those, without exception, who devoted their ingenuity to public performances appeared to him worthy of attention. He increased the privileges of athletes and suppressed the ancient law which placed comedians, outside the theatre, in strict dependence upon the authorities."[3]

There was another way in which he paid court to the multitude. These men of the south were all artists and poets. Deprived of necessaries, they demanded fêtes, and provided that their city was beautiful, they never noticed that their hovels were filthy. In fact, these hovels were not their dwellings. In that happy climate where the days are fair and the nights so soft, they lived *sub dio*, and the porticoes, temples, triumphal arches, and statues really belonged to them, since they ceaselessly enjoyed them. Augustus promoted this taste also. Cæsar had set him the example, he continued his great works. For himself he built upon the Palatine a dwelling which was the beginning of that series of palaces with which the emperors covered the Royal Hill,[4] and since the Republic still existed, or at least was said to

[1] *Petita venia.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 45.)

[2] Dion, liv. 17; Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii. 7; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 77.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 45.

[4] I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the able director of the excavations on the Palatine, Senator Pietro Rosa, who has done so much for archæology by his discoveries, and who intends to give us back the whole of Augustus's house, a portion of which

do so, he obliged his friends and the chief senators to follow the republican customs, and help with their fortunes in decorating the city.[1] The Field of Mars, round which most of the buildings were grouped, formed a new city, wholly monumental, which for houses had temples, theatres, and porticoes.

Agrippa, as skilful in these labours of peace as in those of war, built, says Suetonius, an infinite number of beautiful edifices. One of them, the Pantheon (*Santa Maria Rotonda*), still exists, and bears on its front these words: *M. Agrippa L. F. cos. tertium fecit.* It was not, as has been thought from the name afterwards bestowed upon it, consecrated to all the deities of Olympus. In the interior, facing the entrance, stood no doubt the statue of Jupiter the Avenger, who had exacted from all Cæsar's murderers the expiation of their crime. To the right and left of the God of Vengeance were the deities and heroes of the predestined race: Mars and Venus, Æneas and Iulus, Romulus, the founder of patrician Rome, and Cæsar, the founder of imperial Rome. Octavius refused to take his seat amongst the immortals, and discreetly placed his statue outside near the door; on the other side he placed that of Agrippa.

Inclined by his practical genius towards useful enterprises, Agrippa, during his ædileship, led to Rome the *Aqua Virgo*, a fountain said to have been discovered and pointed out to the parched Roman soldiers by a young maiden; to this very day, after the lapse of 1,800 years, it still supplies half of Rome with clear, fresh water (the fountain of Trevi). He built the *Diribitorium*, the largest edifice that ever existed under one roof;[2] he repaired the ancient canals, established 700 drinking troughs, 105 playing fountains, 130 reservoirs, 170 free baths, and upon these erections he placed 300 statues and 400 marble columns; and all this in one year."[3] At his death he bequeathed to the

is still under the gardens of the Villa Mills. A very pleasant visit may be paid to the Palatine with M. Boissier's *Promenades archéologiques* (p. 51–110) for a guide.

[1] *Principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut . . . . monumentis . . . . urbem adornarent.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 29.) A temple built by a private individual had to be kept up by his posterity. (See chapter lxx. § 2.)

[2] This edifice was used for the inspection of votes, the payment of troops, and the distribution of gratuities amongst the people. (Dion, lv. 8; Suet., *Claud.*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 40.)

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, § 9.

prince 240 slave engineers, whom he had trained, and whom Augustus presented to the State for the completion and maintenance of the works of his great minister.

Augustus also boasted of having "repaired the aqueducts, which were falling into ruins, and doubled the volume of the *Aqua Marcia*, by leading a new spring into the conduit which carried it to Rome." He restrained the Tiber for some time from periodically devastating the lower quarters of the city by widening and deepening its bed, which had long been obstructed and narrowed by ruined buildings.[1] He instituted a special commission of *curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis*.

To secure Rome against disorder and fire, he divided the city into fourteen districts, and each district into quarters. The surveillance of the districts was entrusted to annual magistrates, under the superior authority of the city prefect,[2] that of the quarters to inspectors chosen from among the inhabitants themselves (*vico-magistri*).

Seven cohorts of night watchmen, sub-divided into seven posts, one for every two districts, were placed under the orders of a prefect of the equestrian order, and charged with the duty of preventing and arresting fires.[3] These *vigiles*, all freedmen,[4] could obtain after three years' service the *tessera frumentaria*, and with it the full citizenship. As for maintenance of order during the day, it was looked after by the three urban cohorts, to whom the prætorians could lend a strong helping hand in case of need. When Augustus gave games in the Campus Martius, and all the people flocked thither, he caused the deserted city to be guarded by soldiers, lest robbers should plunder the empty houses of the inhabitants, a precaution which speaks volumes as to the state to which society had been brought by twenty years of civil war.

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 30, and de Rossi, *Piante di Roma*, p. 30.

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 30.

[3] The *præfectus vigilum* exercised criminal jurisdiction over incendiaries and robbers. Grave cases were reserved for the prefect of the city.

[4] In the year 23 he had given 600 slaves to the curule-ædiles for service in cases of fire (Dion, liv. 2); in A.D. 5 he organized the corps of *vigiles*, who were at first drawn from the classes of servile origin. Later on they were taken from anywhere. (Dion, lv. 26.) These night-guards each carried a bell to summon each other with. (*Id.*, liv. 4.) All the cities followed the example of Rome, and had public slaves to maintain order, attend to the roads, and discharge the lower offices of the administration.

The true remedy against want is the labour of the poor, not the alms of the wealthy. But on this subject there existed many prejudices and inveterate habits. Ancient Rome had known only one method of enriching herself—war; since new Rome wished to keep the temple of Janus shut, she must seek some other means of escaping want. The emperors of the later ages thought they had discovered it in the organization of labour into hereditary corporations. Augustus was more clear-sighted; he contented himself with encouraging it. The building by which the face of the city was changed, furnished the proletaries with occupation, and the prince's efforts to raise agriculture again restored a little life here and there to the country districts. The immense commerce, too, carried on between Rome and the rest of the world induced many of those who had long lived by fraud and mendicancy to return to legitimate industry. "By moderating the excess of the distributions of wheat," says Suetonius, "he reconciled the interests of the people with those of the farmers and merchants."[1] We may add that he had a vague conception of the modern idea of credit when he lent capital without interest to any man who could give security for double the amount.[2]

Another means of furnishing hands for commerce and agriculture was the diminution of enforced leisure; he suppressed thirty holidays.[3]

We know how much Augustus was aided in this task by Virgil, who again inserted in the most perfect of his poems the speech put into the mouth of Octavius in the very first eclogue:

Pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri; submittite tauros.....

His *Georgics* are a magnificent eulogium upon agricultural labour. Horace, too, celebrates the fruitfulness which again reigned in

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, 41.

[3] *Ibid.*, 32. He only suppressed *honorary* festivals, that is, those instituted by private individuals; during the others it was forbidden to work. When the king of the sacrifices and the flamens went out on that day they were preceded by heralds who enjoined the people not to violate the sanctity of the day by doing any work with their hands. Any man disobeying was punished by a fine. (Fest., *s.v. Præcia*, and Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 16.) Columella (iii. 12, 9) reckons forty-five days of *festival* or of rain; *quibus non aratur*, and Tertullian (*de Idol.*, 14) says that among the pagans the feast-days did not reach the number of the fifty days of rejoicing among the Christians.

the country; and to second the prince in this work, Varro, at the age of eighty, wrote the precepts of agriculture.

III.—Religious Reform.

When Roman society grew calmer, Augustus tried to render it nobler; and in order to make use, after so many agitations, of all the conservative elements, he became a professor of morals and religion. He ordered collections of sentences from old authors to be made, and sent them to the provincial magistrates. In the senate speeches [Homilies] were read by his orders which had been delivered in the times of the ancient severity of manners,[1] or else new harangues upon pure morality, and he forbade judges to enter the house of a citizen during their year of office—petty measures which did no good.[2] Nevertheless, he boasted in his will of having revived ancient manners. "By new laws," said he, "I have again brought into honour the long-forgotten examples of our ancestors, and by my edicts I have set forth for the imitation of all men the virtues of our sires."

The reformer of morals desired to be a religious reformer also, and strengthen among the people the beliefs which he himself did not hold. Faith in the great gods of the nobles, artists and poets, was fading away, but the gods of the lower classes were still trusted; and with its legends, its unclean train of impostors from Eastern lands where religious charlatans, half deceived, half deceivers, ever swarm, Roman paganism still remained a power. Livy may assert that even the people no longer believed in the signs sent by the gods,[3] and Propertius that the spider covered the temples with its web and that weeds hide the neglected gods;[4] but men still visited the altars, and especially occupied themselves with omens. The pretended revelations of auspices and prodigies, of oracles and stars, well suited these men, whom an unwholesome curiosity urged to ask the future will of the gods, instead of

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 89.

[2] We have seen (p. 736) that he also defined the categories of men whose evidence should not be accepted in a court of justice; that was of more use.

[3] *Nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credunt.* (xliii. 13.)

[4] ii. 6. Cf. S. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, vii. 9.

constraining that future by their own energy. Moreover religion only, since no serious science yet existed, accounted for the natural phenomena; it alone dimly answered the questions which man is ever asking about his end, and the greatest sceptic in the midst of his pleasures felt its influence as soon as danger appeared. Did not Horace institute an annual sacrifice in gratitude to the gods who had preserved him from the fall of a cursed tree? Thus, spiritualized by some, appearing coarse to others, but mixed up with their whole existence, the pagan religion continued to exist.

This people had moreover allowed themselves to be fettered by numberless rites to a form of worship made up of ritual, and surrounded their gods with that pompous devotion which the Romans of all ages have loved. The magistrates encouraged it through policy, the learned from curiosity, philosophers in contempt for the vulgar, and *jurisconsulti* that they might find therein a sanction for their laws. Cæsar, who denied a future life, had written a book upon auspices; Varro, who believed only in the soul of the world, nevertheless related in a great work all the stories of Olympus; and Cicero, so pious in his public speeches, scoffs in his books at the gods and their presages, and even at the famous lots of Præneste: "What magistrate," says he, "what man of sense resorts to them?"

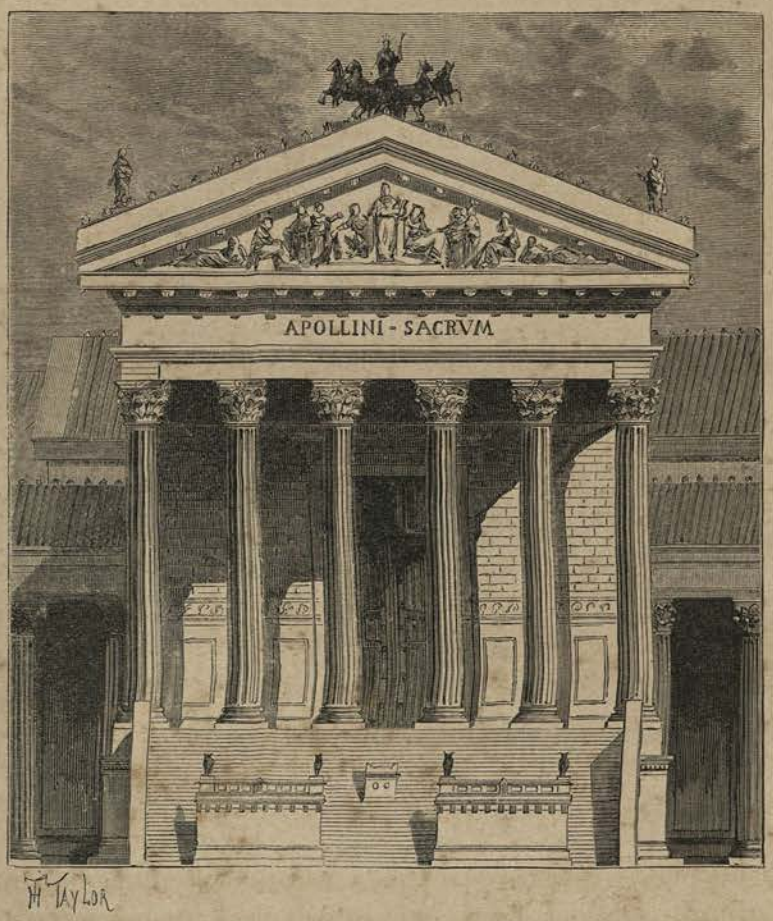
In the eyes of these great men religion was a useful thing, but not a necessary one, for they thought, like Socrates, that there was very little connection between religion and morals, and even with Aristotle that these two ideas were absolutely separate.

Augustus protected religion as expedient. Even before assuming the high pontificate in 18 B.C. he purified its sources by making a selection from the oracles current among the public. More than two thousand volumes of predictions in Greek and Latin were burnt. The Sibylline Books, the only gospel known to the Romans, were submitted to a strict revision, and then enclosed in two golden caskets, which were placed beneath the statue of Apollo Palatinus. The practice of co-option introduced into the sacerdotal colleges priests whose life jarred with their office, it was therefore replaced by imperial nomination.[1] He

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 19; *Hist.*, i. 77; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 8. We have seen above that he was

reconstituted the college of the Fratres Arvales and made himself head of it, as he already was of the other religious corporations.

The magicians, several times expelled from Rome under the Republic, had again entered it and were thriving there, as is the case with every profession which speculates upon human vice



Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[1]

and folly. Augustus forbade them on pain of death to predict future events, as these predictions were not usually favourable to the policy of the time being, and he prohibited within the pomœrium the exercise of the Egyptian worship or the Jewish ceremonies, two religions over which he had no hold.

a member of the four great sacerdotal colleges. He also caused himself to be enrolled in the colleges of the Titian priests and the Fetiales.

[1] As restored by Clerget. (*Ecole des Beaux-Arts.*)

He assumed the title of founder or restorer of temples,[1] made all who approached him glorify the gods, and even enlisted in this crusade Ovid, who while he wrote the *Fasti* to celebrate the ancient worship, was astonished at having reached that point, after his success as the poet of Love.[2] Finally he restored

Temple of Mars the Avenger and Forum of Augustus at Rome.[3]

ancient ceremonies with restrictions which had formerly, in a society naturally chaste, been useless, but were now most necessary amongst a corrupt people. He restored the ancient temples and raised others to the beneficent and pacific gods: to Ceres, to Concord, to Fortune the restorer and Fortune the saviour, to

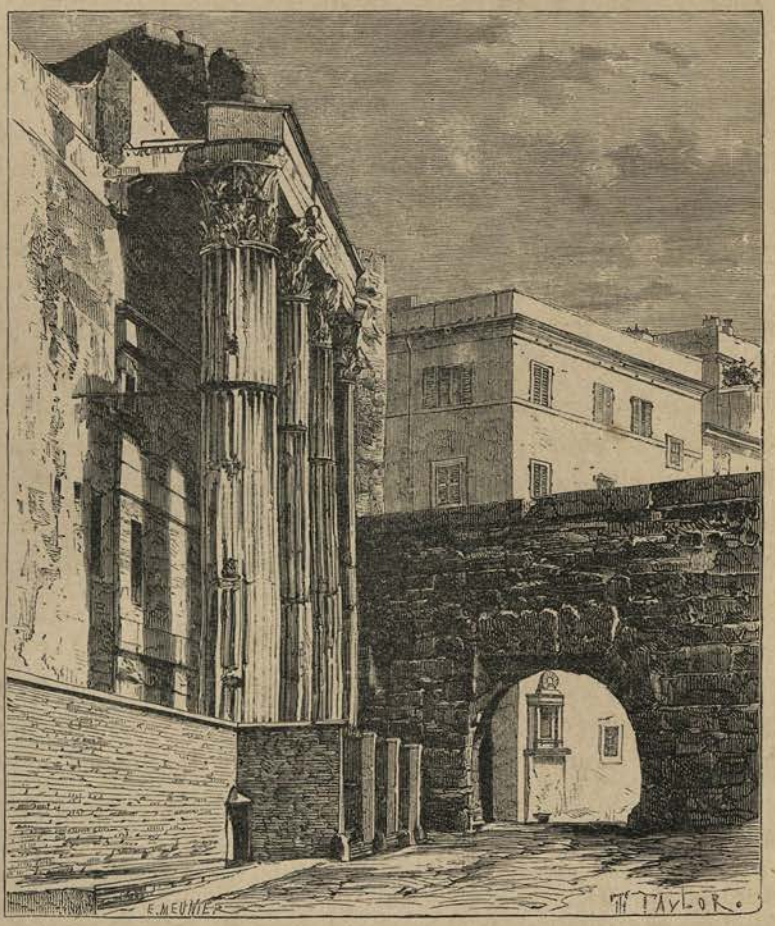
[1] See in chapter lxix., *a l finem,* the enumeration he made of the temples rebuilt by him. (*Monument d'Ancyre,* § xix.)

[2] *Fast.,* ii. 8 :—

. . . . *Sacra cano . . . .*
Ecquis ad hæc illinc crederet esse viam?
Hæc mea militia est.

[3] Restored by Uchard. (*Ecole des Beaux-Arts.*)

Jupiter Liberator, who had delivered Rome from anarchy, and to Peace, that long neglected goddess, who received two altars from him upon condition of converting the whole world to her worship. Mars, now the guardian of oaths, was no longer to fight save for the punishment of perjurers: he was Mars the



Peristyle of the Temple of Mars the Avenger (Present State).

Avenger.[1] By this transformation of the homicidal god Augustus wished to convey the idea that war, henceforth submitted to only as a necessity, would no longer be an appeal to force, but to the justice of heaven. He believed, or was anxious to make others believe, that Apollo had protected him on the great day

[1] This temple, raised in the midst of the Forum by Augustus, was specially consecrated to the vengeance of Cæsar. Another, built upon the Capitol and shown upon medals as round in form, received the recovered standards of Crassus.

of Actium; he built a rich temple to him upon the Palatine, with gates of carved ivory, wherein the god was shown avenging himself on his foes.[1] An idea of a totally opposite nature also secured a temple for Jupiter the Thunderer, whose bolt had one day struck beside the prince's litter and killed a slave close by.

Among the ancient gods those who were guardians of the State and the family, Vesta and the Lares were the most honoured, especially the latter, familiar and simple deities, dear to the lower people whose whole religion they constituted. Jupiter, Apollo and Diana were gods too great for them, suitable for senators and reserved for those who ascended to the Capitol. The poor people who never left their quarters required those gods of the street-corner and the hearth, the small coin of divinity, beings less imposing and more easy of access, such as the people always make for themselves. Every day the head of the household surrounded by his children and by his slaves offered his morning prayer before the Lares; he invoked them again before sitting down to his frugal table, and in the middle of the meal, amidst religious silence, he threw a little bread and salt upon the hearth: this was the communion with the propitious gods.[2]

Augustus replaced (8 B.C.) the images of the Lares at the crossways (*compita*), and desired that twice a year, in spring and summer, on the feast of the *Compitalia*, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood should come and deck them with flowers.

[1] There remains of this temple nought but the description given by Propertius. (ii. 31.) On its ivory gates were represented the Gauls being hurled from Parnassus by the servitors of the god and the Niobids falling beneath arrows. A library was annexed to the temple.

[2] The Lares were the souls of the dead, who, previous to the Twelve Tables, were buried in the house. (Serv., *ad Æn.*, vi. 152.) Hence the domestic worship paid to them. Their image was frequently associated with that of the Penates, who in these latter times were represented dancing and holding in one hand the drinking-horn, *rhyton*, in the other the food-dish, in token of the abundance and joy they maintained in the house. (See vol. i. p. 85.) In their origin the Penates and Lares differed; the former were only the guardians of the *penus*, that is, of the provisions kept in reserve in the *cella penaria*. This *cella*, which none could enter save in a state of purity, *castus* (Colum., *de Re rust.*, xii. 4), was the temple of the Penates; for their altar they had the hearth upon which were cast the first fruits of the repast. There was only one family Lar in each house; the name of the Penates, on the other hand, is always in the plural. (See vol. i. p. 19, two Penates on a coin.) In the time of Augustus they were no longer distinguished from one another (Marquardt, *Handbuch*, vol. iii. p. 122, note 4), just as the Genii were no longer distinguished from the Lares. (Censor., *de Die Nat.*, 3, from a book by Granius Flaccus addressed to Cæsar.)

To ensure the perpetuity of this worship, he organized a priesthood for it: the two hundred and sixty-five *vici* of Rome had each four priests elected annually by the people of the neighbourhood. This priesthood stood below the pontifical colleges of the old aristocratic religion, and constituted a new clergy, wholly plebeian in character, set apart for the popular religion. The household Lar was the ancestor of the family or the member who had brought it most honour. We shall presently see by what chain of ideas the emperor became the Lar *par excellence* and took his place near the others, on the hearth of each house as well as at the altars of the *compita*.[1] "Rome has now," says Ovid, "a thousand gods Lares and the *Genius* of the prince who has given them to us: each quarter adores three deities."[3] This association won for the modest divinities of the crossways

The Genius of Augustus.[2]

[1] A senatus-consultum made this worship obligatory. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. § 3.)

[2] Statue in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 2.)

[3] *Fasti*, v. 128 *sqq*. These deities, whom Ovid saw at Rome associated with the worship of the Genius of Augustus, were the two Lares who protected two streets crossing one another. This worship of the Lares of the crossways was very ancient; but it had been served by *collegia compitalicia*, very ill composed, according to Cicero, *ex omni fœce urbis ac servitio concitata*, which having on more than one occasion been the instruments of disorder, had been suppressed by the senate in 64. Clodius had re-established them; six years later Cæsar again abolished them. Augustus reorganized them in such a way as to leave nothing to be feared from them.

the imperial title, *Laribus Augustis*, and for the officiating whose duty it was to watch over the ædicula, offer sacrifices and celebrate games there, the surname of *Augustales*.

"Augustus augmented the number of priests, and increased their dignity and even their privileges; one of the Vestals having died, he protested before several citizens who refused to submit their children to the chances of the drawing of lots, that if one of his grand-daughters had attained the required age he would himself have offered her."[1]

There is another worship, that of national glory. In order to rekindle dying patriotism, Augustus fearlessly accepted it all. "He honoured almost equally with the immortal gods," says his biographer, "the great men who had raised Roman power so high; he restored the monuments which they had raised, leaving their glorious inscriptions thereon; and he set up their statues in the triumphal dress, under the two porticoes of his Forum, in order, as he said in an edict, that their example might serve to judge himself and all the princes his successors. Even Pompey's statue was placed in front of his theatre, under an arcade of marble." These illustrious dead formed a guard of honour for him, and it seemed as though all the republican glories came naturally to group themselves round the imperial glory. I know not whether he overthrew the figures of Brutus or raised those of Cicero, but he always respected the memory of the one and the genius of the other.[2]

His ancient foes and their sons met with a kind reception from him. He gave the consulship and his niece's hand to a son of Antony, and he begged Piso, one of the most violent enemies of Cæsar and the triumvirs, to accept the consulship.[3] On one occasion he even defended Cato against some clumsy courtiers: "Know," said he, "that he who opposes revolutions

[1] In A.D. 5 he was obliged to order that the daughters of freedmen should be received among the Vestals. (Suet., *Octav.*, 31.) Under Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 16) the empress's place at the theatre was on the bench of the Vestals.

[2] Under this portico he had also placed the *tituli provinciarum*, which led to the idea of making statues of captive provinces; we have already given some.

[3] *Piso . . . . petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere.* (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 43.) As for Julius Antonius, he became one of Julia' lovers, and when she was exiled he killed himself to avoid chastisement.

in the State is an honest man and a good citizen."[1] There is more policy than magnanimity in these words.

But the masses troubled themselves very little about the secret calculations of a policy which pleased them; they applauded this public homage rendered to the gods and heroes of the eternal city, and they listened with complaisant curiosity to the splendid wits who seconded the prince's efforts, and employed all the charms of eloquence and poetry to induce the Romans to imitate their ancestors. Livy relating in his majestic language their glorious history, and Virgil showing the powers of the sky and earth gathered round their cradle, were like pontiffs of the past seated on the ruins of the old temple, to summon the people thither still for the accomplishment of pious rites and the worship of ancient virtues.

Have we any right to say that these lessons were useless and that the admiration for these great writers produced no result? Men loved letters too much not to be influenced by artists in language. Since the Forum had lost its agitations and the senate its liberty, the activity of all men's minds had turned towards the worship of the Muses. As there were no longer any orators to hear, they listened to the poets. Everyone wrote, even Pollio, even Augustus himself, who composed tragedies, but with more wisdom than Richelieu, abstained from having them played. The booksellers could not supply the demand: *recitations* or *public readings* increased, and the emperor did not disdain to be present at them.[2] Libraries were opened; Asinius Pollio had founded the first in a monument to which he gave the fair name of *Atrium Libertatis*, the sanctuary of moral liberty, and placed there the busts of great men beside their works, "that their image might be found in the spot where their immortal soul still seemed to speak."[3] Augustus opened another in the temple of Apollo, built beside his house, and with a liberality of spirit which does him honour, admitted the poems of Catullus and Bibaculus into it, notwithstanding their satirical verses against the family of the Cæsars. It was very necessary, indeed, to allow reading, since

[1] Macrob., *Sat.*, II. iv. 18.
[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 29 and 89.
[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 2.

the new institutions no longer allowed speaking. Octavia founded a third library in memory of her son.

Morality can no more be created by fine verses than by police regulations; there are, however, qualities which depend upon a man's dress and the rank he bears, and it is no inconsiderable thing to compel the observation of social propriety. Respect for one's self and for others, if not virtue itself, at least suggests it: Augustus would not suffer the scandalous spectacle of senators fighting in the arena; he forbade them and their sons to wed the daughters of freedmen or comedians, and all citizens were prohibited from contracting marriages with women of loose character.[1] He compelled the knights to maintain the dignity of the angusticlave, and would not allow them to go upon the stage. By diligently pursuing military exercises in the Campus Martius a man gained his favour, and on the other hand he inflicted disgrace on those who were too usurious. The whole people was more than once reprimanded by him, and in order to stop the impure sources whence they arose, he set a limit to the number of manumissions[2] and decreed that a slave who had been condemned to torture should be thenceforth ineligible for citizenship.[3]

He would fain have returned to those fair days when it was the rich man's duty to aid the poor with his word and his knowledge at the tribunal of the prætor. He forbade judges to pay visits, and advocates to receive anything from their clients under pain of restoring fourfold.[4] In this Labeo was undoubtedly of the same opinion as Augustus, but neither of them succeeded.

Women did not possess in Rome the influence which our manners accord them.[5] Usually they lived in seclusion, far from

[1] Ulp., *Regul. lib.*, tit. i. and ii., *e lege Julia.* Yet this same law did away with the old prohibition forbidding marriages between people free by birth and by manumission. (*Ibid.*, and *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 22, and 44.)

[2] Not more than 100 slaves at once could be set free by will. It was forbidden to compel the freedman to swear to remain single, that his property might revert after his death to his former patron, a prospect which induced many masters to set their slaves free. (Dion, xlvii. 14; the laws *Furia Caninia* and *Ælia Sentia de manumissionibus*, 8 and 9 A D.)

[3] Suetonius (*Octav.*, 40): *parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit.* Dion would even lead us to think (lii. 18) that he revised the right formerly conceded.

[4] Dion, liv. 18.

[5] The jurisconsults said: *Major dignitas est in sexu virili.* (Ulpian in the *Digest*, i. 9, *proœm.*) We already find, however, something similar to the formula of the Middle Ages—

the society of men and from those occupations which Christianity has given them: almsgiving, charity, the care of children, and the consolation of the afflicted. Thus those who dared to leave the protecting shadow of the gynæceum, finding no beaten track, no place for them in the broad daylight, wavered and fell at the very first step. And the number of these was great, for ancient chastity was lost like ancient poverty. Augustus, who had an interest in throwing a veil over Roman corruption, did not overlook this side in his reforms. He desired that the women of the imperial household should set the example of a modest and industrious life. He long wore only stuffs spun by his wife, his sister and his daughter. He punished seduction by the confiscation of a portion of the man's property, by corporal punishment or by banishment; adultery, by allowing the outraged husband or father who surprised the guilty to put them to the sword, and by declaring that women convicted of this crime should never be allowed to contract a marriage with a man of free birth.[1] On the other hand he gave the faithful wife a guarantee for her property, by forbidding the husband to alienate the dowry,[2] and another for her liberty by freeing the mother of a family from the harassing guardianship of the Agnates.[3]

I would not venture to say that Augustus hoped to lead the matrons back to the virtues of Lucretia and of Tanaquil the spinster; but he at least attempted to restore to them a little of that modesty of which the circus had deprived them. He forbade

"The mother ennobles." The women of Delphi, Pontus, and the *Iliensis Colonia*, when they married a man of another city, conferred on their children the title of citizens of their native city (*Digest*, l. tit. i. § 2, and tit. ii. fr. 9), and the jurisconsults recognized the ability of the son of a slave father and a free mother to attain the decurionship.

[1] The punishment of death for adultery was introduced by Constantine. (*Cod.*, ix. 9, 30.) Paulus (*Sent. lib.*, II. xxvi. 14) only speaks of the confiscation of part of a man's goods and the banishment of the two guilty ones to two different islands. Augustus accepted concubinage, however, but introduced regulations to diminish the disorders attendant upon it. He gave it a definite juridical character, and fixed certain legal relations between the two connected parties and their children. (*Digest*, xxv. 7; *Cod.*, v. 26.) [The law noticed in the text is far in advance of ours, which permits a divorced adulteress to exhibit her crime permanently by marrying her paramour.—*Ed.*]

[2] Except by the special consent of the woman. She could not even allow a mortgage to be laid upon the *dotale prædium*, or immovable property, situated in Italy. (*Inst.*, ii. 8, *pr.* and 18; Cf. Ulp., *Reg. lib.*, 13, *e lege Julia de adulteriis.*) This law, passed in the year 17 B.C., is the basis of all the dowry regulations.

[3] Marezoll, *Droit privé*, § 166. Free-born women having three children and freedwomen who had four were exempt from guardianship. He regulated the system.

them entrance to those games in which athletes contended, and at gladiatorial combats he relegated them to the highest benches in the amphitheatre. He did still more for them by making marriage more honourable and attaching privileges to lawful and fruitful unions. Here there comes in one of the most important acts of his internal administration, the famous law *Papia Poppæa*, the greatest monument of Roman legislation since the Twelve Tables.

In the tempest which for a century past had raged in the Republic, the institutions alone had survived destruction. A shameless cynicism had ruined private morals.[1] In many Roman houses there were no longer fathers, sons, wives, in the true sense. Marriage had become an inconvenience and was abandoned, and in order to escape its obligations men lived in celibacy, or, what was still worse, had yearly divorces. Matrons, it was said, reckoned the years by their husbands, and not by the consuls. Such a state of morals endangered not only the family, but society itself. In order to compel the class of citizens to recruit itself from within and not from the foul sink of slavery, Augustus resumed and developed the measures of his adoptive father;[2] in the year 18 he proposed the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*. The evil was so deeply rooted and so universal that those very Romans who had no strength left to defend their liberty found enough to shield their vices; the comitia with one voice rejected the proposal, and the prince had to wait twenty years before he got it accepted (4 A.D.). Four years later, braving the violent outcries which it raised and a threatened tumult of knights in the open theatre, he reproduced the measure in a law called *Papia Poppæa*, which formed a new code, as it were, wherein were regulated not only marriage, but divorce, dowry, deeds of gift between husband and wife, inheritances, legacies, etc. A critical and unprejudiced judge has remarked of these laws: "They include so wide a range of subjects, they bear upon so many things, that they form the finest part of the civil law of the Romans."[3]

[1] See the fine *Ode* of Horace, iii. 6. A rich citizen, celebrated for his infamous morals, having been assassinated by his slaves, Augustus refused to institute a prosecution. (Senec., *Quæst. Nat.*, i. 16.)

[2] Dion, xliii. 25.

[3] Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21. The opposition which these laws encountered is

The law, looking upon marriage as a debt due to the State, divided the citizens into two classes, those who had children (*patres*) and those who had none (*cœlibes vel orbi*). On the former it conferred privileges and honours; on the latter it inflicted a diminution of them, calculated to punish the unmarried man more heavily than the childless citizen (*orbus*), who in marrying had at least given proof of submission to the law. The penalty was skilfully attached to one of the strongest passions of that society; as the legislator had set hardly any limits to the power of bequeathing by will,[1] legacy-hunting was one of the constant employments of the citizens. The prince closed or dried up this source of fortune to those who failed to observe the provisions of his law, by declaring that the unmarried man[2] should be incapable of receiving anything from a stranger; that the citizen whose marriage remained without fruit should have a right to only one-half of what was bequeathed to him, and that he should not leave his wife by will more than a tenth of his heritage, nor receive more of hers. This property, of which the law deprived citizens who had not the charge of a family, it conferred upon those heirs or legatees who gave children to the State.[3] If they too had no posterity, the Roman people, as the common father, was substituted for them, and the fiscus received the legacies.[4] All citizens were invited by rich rewards to denounce infractions of this regulation.[5]

certain; the dates given are not, with the exception of that of the consulship of Papius Mutilus and Poppæus Secundus, in the year 9 of our era.

[1] It was an honour, too, to say nothing of the profit, to be remembered in a will. We have seen how Cicero (*Phil.*, ii. 32) boasted of having thus received 20,000,000 sesterces, or nearly £160,000. Augustus himself received very considerable legacies every year. (Suet., *Octav.*, 101.) "But when the inheritance of someone who had children fell to him he immediately restored it to the latter if they were adults, and if they were not he gave it back later on, together with all the interest." (Dion, lvi. 32.)

[2] The following were looked upon as celibates,—the man unmarried at the age of twenty-five, the woman at twenty, the man who married after sixty, and the woman after fifty. To avoid the law men married children. Augustus annulled all betrothals not accomplished at the end of two years. Now as the Roman law did not allow girls under twelve to be married, it was necessary to affiance children of at least ten years old. (Dion, liv. 16.)

[3] Fathers often found another advantage in the system of trustees, which as regulated by Augustus allowed an inheritance to fall to persons formerly incapable of receiving one. The citizens possessing the *jus trium liberorum* took advantage of it to the exclusion of the unmarried. The consuls were invested with this new jurisdiction. (*Inst.*, ii. 23, § 1.)

[4] Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. § 206 and 286. The right pertaining to heirs having children to claim lapsed property, *jus caduca vindicandi*, was so fully recognized that Ulpian reckons this right among the means of acquiring quiritary property. (*Reg. lib.*, xix. 17.)

[5] More than a quarter of the disputed property was attributed to the *delator*, for Nero won

To these positive benefits were joined the prerogatives formerly accorded to age, a better place at the theatre, and everywhere and in all things pre-eminence over citizens of the same rank. A numerous family secured preference in the pursuit and exercise of honours; the consul who had most children took the fasces first and had his choice of the provinces; just as the most fruitful wife won for the senator the right of heading the list of the senate, and of giving his opinion first. For fathers of families the time required for attaining the magistracies was shortened, for every child made it a year less,[1] and three children at Rome exempted a man from personal charges, freed him from guardianship, and secured him a double share in the distributions. The Vestals officially had the *jus trium liberorum*, and the soldiers, who were also debarred from marriage, obtained it from Claudius.[2] This right, then, became a fresh condition added to those already existing in society and marking its ranks; it was a much-envied privilege which was not always sought after by legal means, but was extorted from the easy prodigality of the emperors, though the good princes were very sparing of it. Augustus long refused it to Livia; he only granted it to her after the death of Drusus, together with the other honours decreed to the empress to draw her mind from the loss of her son. We shall see that even the gods were made subject to the *Poppæan law*.

In the year 17 B.C., on the third day of the secular [centenary] games, that solemnity which no man could see twice,[3] choirs of boys and young maidens sang in the Capitol:

Chorus of Boys: "Let thine arrows rest, O Apollo, and hearken favourably to the petitions of the children of Rome."

Chorus of Maidens: "O, queen of the night, goddess of the crescent of fire, give ear to the prayer of the virgins."

Both together: "If Rome is your work, O ye mighty gods!

a momentary popularity when *præmia delatorum Papiæ legis ad quartas redegit.* (Suet., *Nero*, 10.)

[1] When divorce on the death of either husband or wife dissolved the union, Augustus granted in the first case only eighteen months, and in the second only two years, to contract another. (Suet., *Octav.*, 34; Ulp., *Reg. lib.*, xiv.) Concerning the efficacy of these laws, it may be remarked that neither Virgil, Horace, Propertius, nor Tibullus married.

[2] Τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα. (Dion, lx. 24.)

[3] After Augustus they were celebrated by Claudius, Domitian, and Septimus Severus (Zos., i. 4) apparently every fifty years.

give to its youth a docile heart and pure manners, to its old men sweet repose, to the people of Romulus the Empire of the world, a numerous offspring and every glory. Grant that the illustrious scion of Venus and Anchises who now sacrifices spotless bulls to you may bear sway over the whole universe, terrible to the foe who resists, merciful to the vanquished."

Chorus of Boys: "Already the Parthian trembles before his arm, dreaded by land and sea. Already the Scythian and Indian, erewhile so proud, come and intreat his commands."

Chorus of Maidens: "Peace, good faith, honour and ancient modesty, and virtue so long forgotten, reappear amongst us; happy abundance comes back to us with her fruitful horn."[1]

Shall we believe then that the emperor succeeded in making his people religious and moral by virtue of laws? The law has nothing to do with these things. It cannot penetrate to the depths of men's consciences, eradicate vice, and purify the soul. Yet, as it controls external actions, it sometimes reaches through them the passions which produce them. The man who for forty-four years made Roman society feel the pressure of an honest will, certainly restored a degree of order, propriety, and outward dignity. He forced his fellow-citizens to respect themselves by laws which after doing some good at Rome, effected much more in the provinces, where they were better obeyed.[3]

Horace.[2]

[1] Horace, *Carmen Seculare.* [But compare the hypocritical side of the picture in his *Epist.* (i. 16, 57–62.)—*Ed.*]

[2] HORATIVS; bust of Horace; behind the head, and cut into the medal, a palm. Bronze coin called a *contorniated medallion.*

[3] Examples of these laws made for the citizens and adopted by the provincials are found in Gaius (i. 47), Ulpian (xi. 20), *Digest* (xxx. fr. 41, § 6), *Cod.* (vii. 9, 3; vii. 71, 4). Thus the *lex Julia de ambitu* was almost useless at Rome, where there were merely illusory elections; it was very necessary in the municipia, where the elections were serious and caused agitations. Rome was not the whole Empire, and the corruption which, thanks to such accumulated riches, reigned there was not possible everywhere else. But everywhere where there were citizens the Julian laws were applied, and in the towns deprived of the rights of citizenship the local laws tended towards the Roman ones by frequently borrowing from either the ancient legislation (Ulp., xi. 18; Gaius, i. 183, 185; iii. 122) or from the imperial constitutions (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 71, 72) the edicts of governors (Gaius, i. 6) or the senatus-consulta. (Pliny, *ibid.*, x. 77.)

IV.—Reforms in Italy.

All that the emperor did for the maintenance of order in the Capitol had its counterpart in Italy, which was accustomed to copy Rome and its institutions. The peninsula did not form a provincial government, for it furnished neither money nor soldiers, since it was not subject to the land-tax, and the frontier legions were not recruited there;[1] moreover, as all the inhabitants had the right of Roman citizenship, no Roman magistrate could exercise the *jus necis* of the military *imperium* there. Augustus divided it into eleven regions, probably in order to centralize the results of the municipal census, and facilitate the collection of the indirect taxes, and the administration of the public domain, and of the *subseciva* or colonial lands not yet assigned.[2] Was this service allotted to the four quæstors who in the time of the Republic resided respectively at Ostia, at Cales, in Cisalpine Gaul, and perhaps at Rimini, and those whom on Dion's testimony[3] Augustus instituted for Italy? We do not know, but it must have been provided for in some way or other.

In order to prevent brigandage, Augustus disarmed the population. No arms might be retained save for the chase or for travelling.[4] The robber-bands were recruited from ruined peasants, military colonists tired of an agricultural life, and especially slaves who, after having served for some time in the army, concealing their origin, took the first opportunity of escaping to the mountains. Augustus made a strict examination of his legions before sending them to the frontiers, and all the slaves found in the ranks were restored to their masters or crucified.[5] As for the veterans, he distributed them among twenty-eight Italian colonies, where he

[1] We have not a single inscription mentioning an Italian legionary. The peninsula only furnished recruits for the prætorian and urban cohorts, those of the *vigiles*, and the volunteer cohorts.

[2] See Desjardins, *Les* xi *régions d'Auguste*, in the *Revue historique*, vol. i. p. 184. The list of the *subseciva* was drawn up in the *libri beneficiorum*. (Cf. *Gromatici Veteres*, vol. i. 202 and 295.)

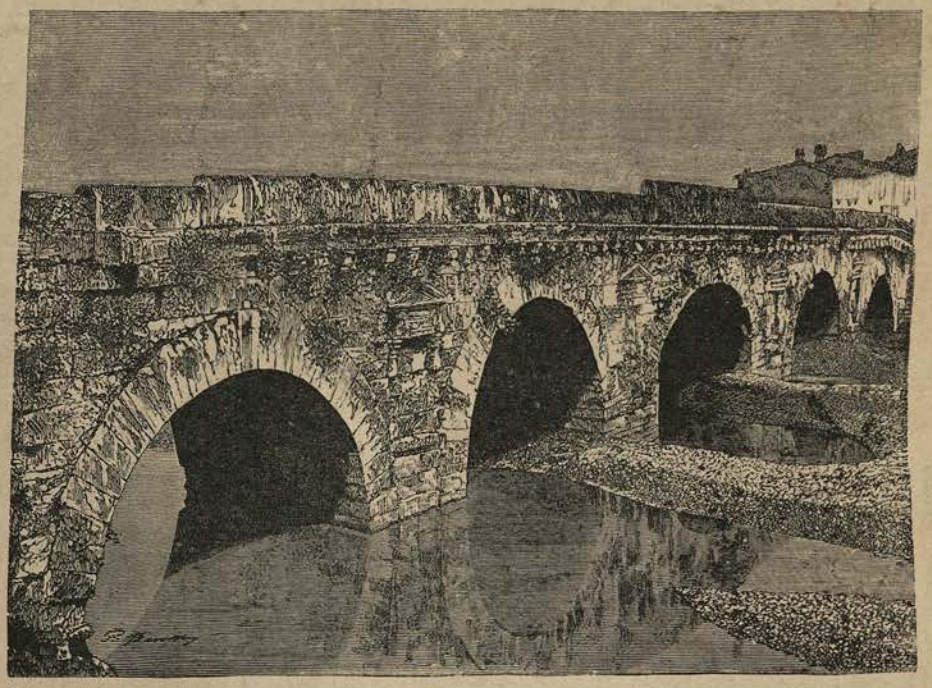
[3] lv. 4.

[4] *Digest*, xlviii. 6, 1.

[5] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 131. In the *Monument of Ancyra* Augustus says that after his victory over Sextus he restored to their masters, *ad supplicium sumendum*, 30,000 fugitive slaves, and according to Paulus Orosius (vi. 18) he crucified 6,000 slaves who had no masters.

did not forget them; five times he bestowed considerable gratuities upon them, in order to retain them there.

Before his time the foundation of a colony had been a calamity for the town where it was established, the inhabitants being compelled to share their houses and fields with the proud and turbulent new-comers, if indeed the colonists did not take everything. Augustus made it his boast that he bought the lands which he gave to his soldiers in the years 30 and 14 B.C. "I have paid," said he, "for fields situated in Italy 600,000,000 sesterces, and



Bridge of Augustus at Rimini (Present State).

260,000,000 for those given in the provinces. I was the first and the only one to do so of all those who have founded colonies." And he had reason to pride himself upon it, for by this measure he prevented the renewal of those frightful disorders endemic in Italy since Sylla's time. In order to render Rome more easy of access, he repaired the Flaminian Way at his own expense as far as Ariminum (Rimini), and desired that every citizen who received the honour of a triumph should follow his example and employ in paving a road the money which fell to him as his share of the spoil.

Arch of Augustus at Rimini.

The Italians took advantage of the restoration of order to clear their fields and set to work with the hope, which they had not felt for fifty years, of at length enjoying the fruit of their labour. Brundisium and Puteoli, the two great ports of Italy, the one for travellers, the other for merchants, and Ostia, through which Rome was supplied with provisions, grew visibly. Octavius had burnt Perusia, Augustus rebuilt and adorned it. Rimini still retains the marble bridge which he built, and a triumphal arch raised in his honour by the inhabitants. Veii, colonized by him, rose again; amid its ruins has been found proof of this returning prosperity; two colossal heads of Augustus and Tiberius, a statue of the latter prince, and some magnificent columns which now decorate a square in Rome and [the church of] *St. Paul Without* the walls.[1] Cære became wealthier than it had ever been;[3] the Tuscan Maremma returned to life, and populous cities sprang from the rubbish heaps beneath which Sylla had buried them. Arezzo sent throughout Italy its red pottery, so much sought after for table use, and Tertullian reproved the Tuscans for inundating Rome with images of their gods. The robber bands, being hunted down by the imperial troops, no longer infested the roads, merchandise circulated in safety, and everywhere there was displayed that ardour for the

Mirror of Perusia.[2]

[1] "At Tarquinii, Vulci, Cosa, Volsinii, Clusium, and Rosellæ are found evident proofs that the Empire and peace had repaired the ravages of the Civil wars. Vetulonia was rebuilt; Crotona, Fæsulæ, Volaterræ, Arezzo also preserve memorials of their material prosperity during the two first centuries of our era." (Noël des Vergers, *L'Etrurie*, vol. ii. p. 379.)

[2] Peleus pursuing Thetis. (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. 386.)

[3] A beautiful statue of Claudius was found there, the pedestal of which bore the representation of the twelve Etruscan tribes.

work of reparation which in all ages is manifested after a social crisis.

Augustus did not restore to the Italian husbandmen their greatest market, that of Rome, which was supplied by the frumentary provinces; and the premiums granted to the importation of foreign corn kept bread cheap, in spite of circumstances which should have raised the price to the advantage of Italian producers. But the *annona* was a charge included in the heritage of the Republic; the prince could not repudiate it without renouncing that inheritance.

The religious reform which he had effected at Rome spread throughout Italy; the worship of the gods Lares gave rise to a

Voting of the Italians on a bas-relief found in the Forum.[1]

new order of citizens there, which we again meet in the provinces. The most important innovation concerned the voting of the cities. All the Italians possessed the right of citizenship, a poor advantage, since they could only exercise that right by making a journey to Rome, the only place where votes were received each day of the comitia. Augustus, who allowed a semblance of freedom to exist in the election, wished to secure a means of counter-balancing the suffrages of the Roman plebs in case of need by those of the

[1] The Italians are bringing their tablets to the magistrates, whose duty it was to collect at Rome the results of the voting taken in the cities.

cities of Italy. He authorized the decurions to send in writing their reports of the voting for the elections to the great Roman magistracies.[1] As the decurions, who numbered 100 in each city, had been indirectly chosen by the popular assembly,[2] the right which they received from Augustus constituted a kind of suffrage of two degrees, not without some similarity to that which appoints our own senators and our consular judges.

This attempted organization of universal suffrage in Italy, combined with the provincial representation of which we shall speak later on, might have led to the most happy results, by binding the various parts of the Empire together by free institutions. But this solution of the political problem was only seen for an instant, and speedily forgotten; the emperor either did not know how to develop these fruitful germs, or let them perish.

[1] Suetonius (*Octav.*, 46), who cites this measure, would lead us to believe that only the decurions of the twenty-eight colonies founded by Augustus profited thereby; those of the municipia certainly obtained the same privilege, since he asserts that the prince desired "to make Italy almost equal to Rome in rights and honours."

[2] Entrance was obtained into the Curia by the exercise of a magistracy, and it was the public assembly which appointed the magistrates; but it was necessary to retain the ex-magistrates upon the *Album* of the Curia, which was drawn up every five years by the *quinquennales*.

Red Pottery of Arezzo (Louvre Museum).

END OF VOL. III.

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